THE TREATMENT OF MORPHOLOGY IN TOLKĀPPIYAM

Dr. M. ISRAEL

MADURAI UNIVERSITY
PALKALAINAGAR, MADURAI – 625021
TAMILNADU, INDIA.

THE TREATMENT OF MORPHOLOGY IN TOLKĀPPIYAM

Dr. M. ISRAEL, M.A., Ph.D.

MADURAI UNIVERSITY
PALKALAINAGAR, MADURAI - 625021
TAMILNADU, INDIA.

1973 Price Rs. 7-00

Madurai University Publication No. 5
First Edition: August, 1973
Published under U. G. C. Scheme

The Treatment of Morphology in Tolkāppiyam

by

Dr. M. Israel, M.A., Ph.D., Dip. in German and Linguistics, R.B V. (Hindi).
Reader in Tamil,
Madurai University,
MADURAI - 625021.

Copyrights: Reserved with the Author.

Price Rs. 7-00

Copies can be had from: The Madurai University Central Co-operative Stores Ltd., Madurai - 625002, Tamilnadu.

Printed at M/s. Sivakami Printers, Annamalainagar.

MADURAI UNIVERSITY

M. VARADARAJAN
VICE-CHANCELLOR

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS
MADURAI - 625021.

6-8-1973

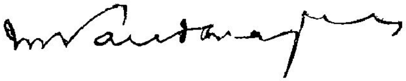
FOREWORD

Dr. M. Israel, as a scholar of the University of Madras from 1962 to 1965, did research under my guidance. The present work "The Treatment of Morphology in Tolkāppiyam" was prepared as a thesis and was accepted for the award of the Ph. D. Degree by the University of Madras in the year 1965. The Madurai University is really happy that it has undertaken publication of this useful research contribution.

Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant work in Tamil, is a repository of many valuable theories of grammar and literary cri icism. It is really a stupendous task to deal with Tolkāppiyam and to make a careful study of the grammatical formulae enshrined in it from the point of view of modern linguistics. I am glad to say that Dr. M. Israel with his evergrowing interest in Tamil Grammar and linguistics has been able to make a thorough analysis of the subject. He has accomplished a systematic and successful study of the morphology treated in the ancient work from the view point of modern linguistics.

The appendices are highly informative and the indices are useful for ready reference and further study. The detailed bibliography will be of great help to any research worker.

As a work based upon original research, it represents a significant contribution to the study of Tamil Grammar. I am certain that this will not only be helpful for a better understanding of Tolkāppiyam itself but also for a greater appreciation of the ancient Tamil language in its historical perspective. This publication will be a valuable addition in the field of Tamil studies.



PREFACE

"The Treatment of Morphology in Tolkāppiyam" is my dissertation submitted to and approved by the University of Madras for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. There is not very much change made in the dissertation except the addition of an author index at the end.

My deep interest in the theories of Tamil grammar and the modern linguistic studies has resulted in the present study. A specialised study of Tamil grammatical works since 1952 gave me the necessary grasp of the grammatical theories and the summer schools of linguistics held under the auspices of various Universities which I had the privilege of attending, increased my knowledge and interest in modern linguistics.

The object of the present study is to throw light on the several interesting grammatical theories propounded in Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant work in Tamil by applying the modern linguistic principles. In the present study I confine myself mainly to morphology treated in Tolkāppiyam and syntax which requires a separate and equally intensive study, is not taken up as the scope of the work does not permit a detailed study of it.

In the course of the study I have been confronted with numerous difficulties because of the confusion caused by the commentators introducing anachronistic ideas and the absence of a proper study of different aspects of Tamil grammar from the modern point of view.

Wherever a proper description is not given by the grammarian an attempt at a regular description is made by deducing from the author's descriptions found elsewhere or by my own efforts.

For the purpose of the present study I have followed the numbers of sutras as found in the following publications :-

1. Tolkāppiyam - Eḻuttatikāram with the commentary of Naccinārkkiniyar, The S. I. S. S. W. Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, Ltd., 1944.

2. Tolkāppiyam - Collatikāram with the commentary of Cēnāvaraiyar published by the above society, 1923.

3. Tolkāppiyam - Poruḷatikāram ; edited by Bavanandam Pillai, S., Longmans, Green and Co., Madras, 1917.

The number of sutras are given either in the body of the thesis or in the foot-notes then and there. Citations are given from Caṅkam literature with their reference in the body itself. Other references and comments are given in the foot-notes. In some cases the examples from the literary works are not given, since in such cases the forms used in modern Tamil are still the same as those found in ancient literature. Translations of examples are given in English, wherever found indispensable.

Numbers are given to chapters and the sub-headings of the chapters and these numbers are used for cross-reference.

An index of the Tamil grammatical terminologies with their English equivalents and a subject-index of terminologies with reference to sūtras in Tolkāppiyam are given. The list of abbreviations is given at the beginning and the bibliography at the end.

Brief Survey of the Work

The background is given in chapter I. It is a general introduction which gives the different aspects of Tolkāppiyam and some information on morphology. Then comes part I consisting of six chapters. It gives an account of noun morphology, i. e., the sub-classes of nouns, the structure of nouns, the inflectional categories of nouns, etc. The part closes with a survey of flexional increments which intervene between nouns and case markers.

The morphology of verbs is followed by that of nouns in Part II which consists of nine chapters The different sub-classes of verbs, their structure, their inflectional categories, etc. have been examined at some length.

Part III consisting of four chapters begins with a discussion on "iṭaiccol". The characteristics of "uriccols" are then considered. Then a study of compounds is taken up and the part ends with a survey of repetitive expressions.

The general conclusions are given at the end to show that though Tolkāppiyam is old, it still continues to be one of the best descriptive grammatical works in the World and the best in Tamil.

M. Israel

Madurai - 625021,
24th August, 1973.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It is with pleasure I record my deep sense of gratitude to my learned and revered Professor and Guide Dr. M. Varadarajanar, presently the Vice-chancellor of the Maduri University, for having guided me, as Professor of Tamil in the University of Madras, in my research with steadfast attention and constant care which enabled me to complete the study within the stipulated period. His encouragement, help and magnanimity as my guide are ever green in my memory and my words expressing thanks for all the benefits I derived from him are not only meagre but also humble.

I am grateful to the authorities of the University of Madras for having kindly extended me the necessary facilities for doing research for Ph. D. Degree and for having permitted the publication of my thesis. I am indebted to the U. G. C. for having granted me a scholarship which made it possible for me to do research at the University of Madras.

I record my sincere gratitude to the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Madurai University for having undertaken the publication of this doctoral dissertation under the U. G. C. publication grant scheme.

I am grateful to my good friends Dr. K. Karunakaran and Dr. Rm. Periakaruppan for having assisted me in the correction of proofs. Dr. K. Karunakaran has spared no pains in patiently going through the galley-proof and making the necessary corrections. My sincere thanks are due to Thiru T. Edward Williams, M. A. of the Annamalai University and to the research scholars of the Tamil Department, Madurai University for their valuable assistance.

I sincerely thank M/s. Sivakami Printers, Annamalai Nagar for neatly executing the printing work.

M. Israel

TRANSLITERATION

The scheme of transliteration followed in the present study is almost the same as that found in Tamil Lexicon published by the University of Madras. Kuṟṟiyalukaram is referred to as shortened -u, whenever it is found necessary. Since the ensuing study is mainly concerned with morphology, the phonemic system of writing is not followed in the strict sense. However, as far as old Tamil is concerned the system here followed is almost phonemic, though not actually.

அ	:	a	ஔ	:	au	ப்	:	p
ஆ	:	ā	ஃ	:	ḵ	ம்	:	m
இ	:	i	க்	:	k	ய்	:	y
ஈ	:	ī	ங்	:	ṅ	ர்	:	r
உ	:	u	ச்	:	c	ல்	:	l
ஊ	:	ū	ஞ்	:	ñ	வ்	:	v
எ	:	e	ட்	:	ṭ	ழ்	:	ḻ
ஏ	:	ē	ண்	:	ṇ	ள்	:	ḷ
ஐ	:	ai	த்	:	t	ற்	:	ṟ
ஒ	:	o	ந்	:	n	ன்	:	ṉ
ஓ	:	ō						

A few foreign terms, that are accepted into English, and some other proper nouns are not transliterated but are employed as they are usually spelt, e. g., sūtra, sandhi, dhatu, Tamil. Sanskrit, etc.

CONTENTS

Foreword i
Preface iii
Acknowledgements vi
Transliteration vii
Abbreviations xi

1. Introduction 1

PART ONE : NOUNS

2. Nouns 14
3. Pronouns 38
4. Numerals 55
5. Verbal Nouns and Derivative Nouns 70
6. Cases 84
7. 'Cāriyais' or Flexional Increments ... 113

PART TWO : VERBS

8. Verbs 131
9. Personal Finite Verbs 139
10. So-Called Appellative Verbs 162
11. Imperatives 175
12. Impersonal Verbs 186

I. Optative Verbs 187
II Finite Verbs of 'Ceyyum' Pattern ... 192
III Forms of 'Ceymmaṉa' Pattern ... 200

IV. Verbs Denoting Negation ... 204
V. 'Vēṟu' 206
13. Non-finite Verbs 207
14. Tense 227
15. Negative Voice 241
16. Passive Voice 250

PART THREE : OTHERS

17. A Study of the So-called 'Iṭaiccol' ... 253
18. A Critical Study of 'Uriccol' ... 282
19. Compounds 305
20. Repetitive Expressions 321
Conclusion 325

APPENDICES

I. Classification and Contents of Chapters in Tolkāppiyam 331
II. Commentators and Their Commentaries on Tolkāppiyam 335
III. Scholars who worked on the Grammar of Tolkāppiyam 340
IV. A Few Contradictions Between the Grammar of Tolkāppiyam and the Usages of Caṅkam literature 344
V. Poetic or Literary Vocabulary ... 351
Selected Bibliography ... 355
Author Index ... 379
Index of Terminologies in Tolkāppiyam with their English Equivalents ... 385
Subject-Index of Grammatical Terms with Reference to Sūtras in Tolkāppiyam 389

ABBREVIATIONS

Journals, Etc.

An.	Anthropos, Wien.
AORM	Annals of Oriental Research, Madras University.
Ar. Or.	Archiv Orientalni, Praha.
BDCRI	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.
BIHP	Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.
BSO (A) S	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London.
CT	Centamil, Madurai.
ER	Educational Review, Madras.
IA	The Indian Antiquary - A Journal of Oriental Research, Bombay & London.
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal,'S-Gravenhage.
IL	Indian Linguistics, Poona.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A.
JAU	Journal of the Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.

JKU	Journal of the Kerala University, Oriental Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum.
JORM	The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
Lg.	Language, Baltimore, U. S. A.
MCM	The Maharaja's College Magazine, Ernakulam
Mi. Ma. Ma	T. P. M. Maṇiviḷā Malar, Annamalainagar.
NIA.	New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
OC	Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference.
PAAS	Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
QJMS	The Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Bangalore.
RO	Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Warzaw.
SPV	Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, University of Madras.
TCult.	Tamil Culture, Madras.
TM	Teṉmoḻi, Cuddalore, Madras State.
TPoḻil	Tamiḻppoḻil, Tanjore, Madras State.
TPS	Transactions of Philological Society, London.
VVRS	V. V. Ramaswamy Souvenir, Virudunagar, Madras State.

Books, Dictionaries, Etc.

CGD	A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages.

DED	A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.
GSD	The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages.
HGT	History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and Their Relation to the Grammatical Literature in Sanskrit. .
LD	Linguistic Dictionary.
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India.
"MOTV"	"The Morphology of Old Tamil Verbs".
RL	Readings in Linguistics.
TED	A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil, Volumes I-III.
TL	Tamil Lexicon, Volumes I–VI and a supplement.

Literary and Grammatical Works.

AN	Akanāṉūṟu.
AK	Aiṅkuṟunūṟu.
KT	Kalittokai.
Kuṟu.	Kuṟuntokai.
Cila	Cilappatikāram.
TC	Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram.
TE	Tolkāppiyam Eḻuttatikāram.
TK	Tiṟukkuṟaḷ.
TP	Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram.
NT	Naṟṟiṇai.
Naṉ.	Naṉṉūl.

Pati.	Patiṟṟuppattu.
PN	Puṟanāṉūṟu.
PP	Pattuppāṭṭu.
Pari.	Paripāṭal.

Commentators.

Iḷa.	Iḷampūraṇar.
Cēṉā.	Cēṉāvaraiyar.
Kal.	Kallāṭaṉār.
Nac.	Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar.
P. S. Sastri	P. Subrahmanya Sastri.
Tey.	Teyvaccilaiyār.

General

cf.	confer, compare.
ditto	the same (aforesaid).
Ed.	Editor.
ed.	edited; edition.
e. g.	exempli gratia, for example.
f.	following.
ff.	following (pl.).
ibid.	ibidem, at the same place.
i. e.,	id est, that is.
op. cit.	opus citatum, in the work cited.

p.	page/pages.
pl.	plural.
ref.	reference.
sg.	singular.
viz.	videlicet, namely.

1 Introduction

1.1. The Purpose and the Scope of the Study

Tamil, the most representative language of the Dravidian group[1] is rich in its literary as well as grammatical tradition. Its earliest extant literature and grammatical works are highly admired not only by all the indigenous scholars but also by the foreigners who have had the opportunity to peruse them.

To trace the historical developments of the language, a proper description of the language of all the extant literary works and a critical evaluation of all the available grammatical works are indispensable. Tolkāppiyam, a treatise on descriptive grammar marks the earliest stage of the linguistic history of Tamil language. It has been considered as the most valuable treasure consisting of formidable rules governing Tamil language and hence it has been approached by the native scholars with awe and reverence. There are a number of native scholars who claim that Tolkāppiyam is an infallible authority on Tamil language. Thus the later-day scholiasts and scholars have attempted to find rules therein even to explain the later developments of the language.

This monumental work has been commented upon by several scholiasts. In the recent past a few scholars have attempted to

---

[1] Sten Konow, LSI, p. 283

Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., "Some Parallelisms and Divergences in South Indian Dravidian", ER, XLIV (1938), p.733.

Burrow, T., and Emeneau, M. B., *A Drāvidian Etymological Dictionary*, p. XII, XIII

describe some of the grammatical aspects treated in Tolkāppiyam (vide appendix III). The technique of applying modern linguistic principles to describe the language has been growing day by day. However, the study of Tolkāppiyam from the point of view of modern linguistic principles has not been much. To understand and appreciate Tolkāppiyam better, more and more intensive study on these lines has to be undertaken. No study so far undertaken has exhausted the systematic description of either the morphology or the syntax treated in Tolkāppiyam.

The primary purpose of the present study is to describe and evaluate the treatment of morphology, found in Tolkāppiyam from the point of view of modern linguistics. A few secondary purposes are: (1) to point out the peculiar usages which mark the linguistic stage of Tolkāppiyam in the history of the Tamil language, (2) to assess the descriptive capacity of the earliest traditional grammarian, (3) to interpret the techniques and difficulties of grammar to the maximum possible extent, and (4) also incidentally to enable one to understand and appreciate the value of Tolkāppiyam. Since the morphology of the early old Tamil is being depicted in this study, it is hoped, this may help the formulation of the historical grammar of Tamil.

It is further believed that this will enable one to understand that the grammar treated in Tolkāppiyam is only the description of the language that was current before and at the time of the author and not a prescription of a set of rules to be followed in the future use of the language.

1.2. The Sources of the Study

For the purpose of the study though the main source has been the first two parts of Tolkāppiyam, considerable reference

has been made to part III also. The various commentaries on part II of Tolkāppiyam (i. e., Collatikāram) have been of immense help for intensive study, proper understanding and elucidation of the text. The language used in Tolkāppiyam, as a whole forms the subsidiary source of the study. The Caṅkam works and Naṉṉūl have also been consulted for comparison and further clarification.

1.3. Tolkāppiyam

Tolkāppiyam is said to be the earliest extant work in Tamil and it is the best treatise on Tamil grammar. It is concerned not only with the science of language but also with the science of literature.

Many of the descriptions found in the work are quite revealing and interesting from the modern linguistic point of view. An intensive study of Tolkāppiyam will gleam the fact that its author was the foremost and the best descriptive linguist of ancient Tamil country. Though Tolkāppiyam is believed to have been composed more than two thousand years ago, even currently it is held as the best type of descriptive grammar that one could have ever formulated. Prof. T. P. Meenakshi sundaran writes that an universal grammar is fortunately found in Tolkāppiyam[2].

However, the scholars of to-day, who approach Tolkāppiyam from the scientific point of view, cannot agree with its descriptions of language in a few places. It is because of the recent developments of advanced researches in the fields of languages and linguistics that one is able to trace and identify the shortcomings even in the best descriptive grammatical works of the traditional scholars. The shortcomings that are pointed out in the course of the study do not, in any way,

[2] Meenakshisundaran, T. P., *Collected Papers*, p. 115.

underrate the greatness of the scholarship of the ancient revered author, but it is believed that they will not only lessen the burden of learning grammar mechanically but also help to approach the grammatical work with the understanding of the truth that it is only the description of the language of ancient Tamil Country.

1.4. Classification and Contents of Tolkāppiyam

Tolkāppiyam contains 1612 sūtras in total. The entire work is divided into three major parts, namely Eḷuttatikāram (TE), Collatikāram (TC) and Poruḷatikāram (TP), each of which is in turn sub-divided into nine chapters. It appears that the author has, in a way, aimed at a symmetry in classifying each part into nine chapters, of which, sometimes more than one chapter deal with the same subject, especially in part III. (For the classification of Tolkāppiyam into chapters and for the contents of chapters, vide appendix I).

1.5. The Author of Tolkāppiyam

Except for a meagre information from the prefatory verse of Tolkāppiyam, nothing more is definitely known about the erudite author of this magnum opus. Paṉampāraṉār, considered to be the author of the prefatory verse states that Tolkāppiyaṉ is the name of the author of this great work. There are divergent views with regard to the name Tolkāppiyaṉ. Some scholars opine that the name Tolkāppiyaṉ was derived from the name of the work and others claim that the work was named after the author[3]. If the former view is accepted, the original name of the author is yet to be known[4].

[3] Ilakkuvaṉār, S., *Tolkāppiyam with Critical Studies*, p. I. Pillai, S. K., *The Ancient Tamils as Depicted in Tolkāppiyam*, p. 1.

[4] Traditionally it is believed that Tiraṉatūmākkiṉi was the oringinal name of the author of Tolkāppiyam and that he was one of the twelve disciples of Akattiyar.

It is evident from the prefatory verse that Tolkāppiyaṉār was well versed in Aintiram, a supposed grammatical work in Sanskrit[5] and had made a systematic study of the works of his predecessors. Of course one has to accept that Tolkāppiyaṉār was well versed in Sanskrit, since he formulates rules with regard to the adoption of Sanskrit words in Tamil language.

According to Paṉampāraṉār, the scholarly work Tolkāppiyam got its imprimatur in the august assembly of Nilantaru-tiruviṟpāṇṭiaṉ, a Tamil king, under the distinguished presidency of Ataṅkōṭṭācāṉ.

It is evident from Tolkāppiyam that the author was erudite in Tamil language and literature and that he reveals himself as a descriptive grammarian and not as a historical grammarian, though he was fully aware of the historical developments of the language[6].

1.6. The Age of Tolkāppiyam

The age of Tolkāppiyam is still a disputed point. The antedating and post-dating of Tolkāppiyam is not uncommon among the scholars. The age has been fixed differently by different scholars.

Sivaraja Pillai and Vaiyapuri Pillai respectively claim that Tolkāppiyam belonged to a period not earlier than the 5th and 6th century A. D. They put forth a number of arguments from internal and external evidences to establish their

---

[5] Vaiyapuri Pillai, S., *History of Tamil Language and Literature.*
The view that Aintiram is a Sanskrit grammatical work has been refuted by Vaiyapuri Pillai.

[6] TC, 452.

views[7]. S. S. Bharatiyār substantially refutes all the arguments cited by Sivaraja Pillai and comes to the conclusion that Tolkāppiyam must . have belonged to a period not later than the 6th century B. C.[8]

A number of scholars are agreed in assigning Tolkāppiyam to the pre-christian era, though they differ among themselves by fixing it to different centuries[9]. A few learned scholars rightly consider that a few sūtras which deal with the later-day developments of different aspects of Tamil language would

---

[7] Sivaraja Pillai, K. N., *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*, Appendix XV, p. 258-65.

Vaiyapuri Pillai. S., op. cit., p. 14, 15, 58, 65.

[8] Bharati, S. S., "The age of Tolkāppiyam", JAU, VI (1936), p. 121-38; 216-29.

[9] Kanakasabhai, V., (*The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 116) thinks that Tolkāppiyam must have been composed in the first or second century B.C.

Srinivasa Ayyangar, M., (*Tamil Studies* p. 117) points out that Tolkāppiyaṉār must have lived anterior to B.C. 350 which is the date assigned to Pāṇini.

Subramonyam, K., (Introduction to the Commentary on Tolkappiyam Eluttatikāram by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Kaḻakam, p. 9) asserts that the date of Tolkāppiyam must be fixed prior to that of Valmiki's works which is earlier than seventh century B. C.

Srinivasa Pillai, K. S., (*Tamil Varalāru*, p. 9) considers that Tolkāppiyaṉār must have lived before the advent of Jainism in Tamil country and according to historians the advent of Jainism took place at the end of 3rd century B. C.

Chettiyar, A. C., (*Advanced Studies in Tamil Prosody*, p. 3) is of the opinion that Tolkāppiyam arose about 4th century B. C.

Varadarajaṉār, M., (Origin and Development of Verbs in Tamil, p. 4) states that Tolkāppiyaṉār's work belongs to a period not later than 500 B. C.

have been interpolations of a later period[10]. Excluding those few sūtras, the remaining major portion can easily be assigned to the pre-Caṅkam period.

It must be pointed out here that a good number of rules found in Tolkāppiyam are not in agreement with the usages of Caṅkam period or of later period (see appendix IV). So, it would be better and befitting to take those rules to represent the period earlier than the Caṅkam age. However it is very difficult, nay, well nigh impossible to fix the exact date of Tolkāppiyaṉār. Since fixing the exact date of Tolkāppiyam is not the purview of the present study, here it may, according to the consensus among the scholars of Tamil, be taken to belong to the pre-Caṅkam age.

According to P. S. Sastri (*Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram with an English Commentary*, p. XXXIII), Tolkāppiyam cannot be later than 2nd century B. C.

Ilakkuvaṉār (*Tolkāppiyam with Critical Studies*, p. 11) presenting a series of arguments boldly concludes that the age of Tolkāppiyam is found to be of high antiquity, somewhere between 1000 B. C. and 600 B. C., probably 700 B. C.

Meenakshisundaran, T. P., (*A History of Tamil Language*, p. 47) states "On the basis of certain words, rules or ideas alleged of a later period and appearing in Tolkāppiyam, it is itself assigned to a later period and is brought as far as down to fifth century A. D." (Vaiyapuri Pillai, p. 58). But those who made intensive study of this and Caṅkam literature, like the Old commentators hold that Tolkāppiyam belongs to pre-Caṅkam period.

Rajamanikkaṉār, M., ("The Date of Tolkāppiyam". AORM, XIX (1964), II : p. 17) enumerating a series of internal evidences, concludes that unless otherwise proved by proper evidences, it is right to say that Tolkāppiyar might have lived during the fourth century B. C.

10 Bharati, S. S., op. cit., p. 121-38.

Meenakshisundaran, T. P., *A History of Tamil Language*, p. 52, 53.

1.7. The Sources of Tolkāppiyam

The primary source of Tolkāppiyam was the literary as well as the spoken language of the Tamils of Tolkāppiyaṉār's age. The major portion of the work is composed of rules governing both the literary and spoken dialects. The rules that are peculiar to either of them are also cited here and there. The fact that Tolkāppiyaṉār describes both the literary and the spoken dialects is evident from the prefatory verse and from a number of internal evidences[11]. It is evident that there was a vast range of literature even before Tolkāppiyam because rules are enunciated on the basis of works and not works on the basis of the rules.

Further Tolkāppiyaṉār codifies rules observing and analysing the traditional usages. He names some of the chapters with the term 'marapu' which means traditional usages, e.g., 1. Nūṉmarapu, 2. Moḻimarapu, 3. Tokaimarapu, 4. Viḷi-marapu and 5. Marapiyal.

From a close study of Tolkāppiyam, it will be evident that a number of grammarians might have lived before Tolkāppiyaṉār and their works might have been lost in course of time. Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to his precursors in plural, e.g., eṉpa-"they would say" (TE, 19, 20, 21, 88, etc., TC, 22, 28, 68, 69, etc.), moḻipa - "they would say" (TC, 25, 62, 109, etc.), eṉmaṉār - "they would say" (TC, 1, 38, 72, 74, 76, etc.), varaiyār-"they won't object to" (TC, 43, 45, 103, 248, etc.), uṇarntōr, arinticiṉōr "those who knew it" (TE, 7; TC, 158). The prefatory verse also testifies to the fact that Tolkāppiyaṉār has made a systematic study of the works of his predecessors. Iḷampūraṇar, a commentator on Tolkāppiyam thinks that

[11] Refer to the sūtras numbered under the terminologies poetry (ceyyuḷ) and usage (valakku) in the index.

Tolkāppiyaṉār studied the earlier works of grammar and summarised them in his work[12].

Dr. P. S. Sastri and Vaiyapuri Pillai assert that Tolkāppiyaṉār is indebted to Sanskrit grammarians, Pāṇini and others[13]. However, one can boldly point out that whomsoever he might have appealed to, he has not caused violence to the genius of the Tamil language, with regard to its description.

1.8. The Commentators and their Commentaries on Tolkāppiyam

The Importance of Tolkāppiyam is further enhanced by the very fact that it has been commented upon by several scholiasts. The commentators are Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar, Pērāciriyar, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Teyvaccilaiyār, P. S. Sastri and an unknown commentator (vide appendix II).

The meaning enshrined in the ancient literary and grammatical works of Tamil language requires the skill of a commentator for its elucidation. Very often one cannot understand the purport of the text without the help of a commentator. Thus the commentators on Tolkāppiyam help us to interpret the text. Their critical acumen, clarity of thought, power of exposition and command of facts are deeply appreciable.

Yet, as the commentators were separated from the grammarian Tolkāppiyaṉār by not less than twelve centuries, it is conceivable that in certain places they failed to understand the purport of the text properly. They interpret it so as to find rules therein for the usages of later times, i. e., they try to

---

[12] Iḷampūraṇar, *A Commentary on TE*, prefatory verse.

[13] Sastri, P. S., HGT, p. 231.
Vaiyapuri Pillai, S., op. cit., p. 13, 14.

bring in the usages which have become classical or current only by their time under the framework of Tolkāppiyam. Thus the result has been that the commentators at times, not only misinterpret the text but also disagree among themselves regarding the import of rules contained in the treatise Tolkāppiyam.

Tolkāppiyaṉār codifies the rules of the language of the age in which he lived. Still he recognizes that the language has ever been changing[14]. In spite of these clues. the commentators, as Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran points out, by their magical interpretations keep up the show of an unchanging and unchangeable grammar for all times and contingencies[15]. Once their tendency of introducing anachronistic ideas is understood their commentaries appear to be a collection of historical grammar, reviewing the whole march of language from epoch to epoch. Thus to get to the heart of the author, one has to make an unbiased approach to the study of the text devoid of preconceived notions gathered from the commentators.

1.9. Morphology

The grammatical system of most languages may be conveniently divided into two parts, morphology and syntax[16]. Morphology is the study of morphemes and their arrangement in forming words whereas syntax is the study of combination of words into phrases and sentences. According to Bloomfield, morphology includes the construction of words and parts of

---

[14] In TC, 452 Tolkāppiyaṉār states that if a new word comes into usage in course of time, it cannot be condemned.

[15] Meenakshisundaran, T. P., *Collected Papers*, p. 115.

[16] Bloomfield, L., *Language*, p. 183.
Bloch, Bernard and Trager George L., *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*, p. 53.
Hockett, C. F., *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 177.

words, while syntax includes the construction of phrases [17]. H. A. Gleason states that some use the term morphology to cover both sub-divisions, in which case it is equivalent to grammar[18]. Here the study is undertaken considering morphology as a part of grammar[19] excluding syntax.

The linguists Bloch and Trager state that morphology deals with the structure of words[20]. In the words of C. F. Hockett, morphology includes the stock of morphemes, and the ways in which the words are built out of them[21].

---

[17] Bloomfield, L., op. cit., p. 207.

[18] Gleason, H. A., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, p. 57.

[19] For the study on morphology the following books or articles have been consulted in detail.

1. Bloomfield, L., *Language*, 1933.
2. Bloch, Bernard and Trager, George L., *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*, 1942.
3. Nida, Eugene A., *Morphology, the Descriptive Analysis of Words*, 1949.
4. ——, "A system for the Identification of Morphemes", *Language*, 24 (1948), p. 414-41.
5. Hockett, C. F., "Problems of Morphemic Analysis", *Language*, 23 (1947), p. 321-43.
6. ——, "Two Models of Grammatical Description", *Word*, 10 (1954), p. 210-34.
7. ——, *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, 1958.
8. Lounsbury, Floyd G., "The Method of Descriptive Morphology", *Oneida Verb Morphology*, p. 11-24.
9. Gleason, H. A., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, 1955.
10. Benjamin, Elson and Velma B. Pickett, *An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax*, 1962.

[20] Bloch, Bernard and Trager, George L., op. cit., p. 53.

[21] Hockett, C. F., *A Course in Mordern Linguistics*, p. 177.

1.10. Morphology and Syntax

What is the line of demarcation between morphology and syntax? The distinction between morphology and syntax is not always sharp. In many languages there is a constant over lapping of structures, and in some instances it will be practically impossible to draw a clear distinction between the two. Nida's attempt to define the limits of morphological structures and to set up distributional criteria for establishing their limits is of great help and immense value in distinguishing them to a certain degree[22]. A practical worker on any language following the guide-lines outlined by Nida will be able to decide the limits. In the present work the scope does not permit the inclusion of those structures which cannot be brought under morphology.

1.11. The Treatment of Morphology in Tolkāppiyam

Tolkāppiyaṉār deals with morphology and syntax in Collatikāram. He does not make a clear-cut distinction between them. In Tolkāppiyam the treatment of morphology and syntax is co-existent, i.e., their treatment is inseparable. That is why a few scholars wrongly consider that Tolkāppiyam concerned with either of them. But a close study will reveal the fact that some chapters in Collatikāram are exclusively concerned with morphology. In all the other chapters the morphemic and the syntactical levels are intermixed. Only the two chapters, Kiḷaviyākkam and Vēṟṟumai mayaṅkiyal are mainly concerned with syntax. It does not mean that those chapters mainly dealing with syntax are not concerned with morphology. They also contain materials for the study of morphology.

With an intensive study of Collatikāram, one can, without much difficulty, separate the sūtras that deal with the

[22] Nida, Eugene A., *Morphology*, p. 103-105.

morphology of Tamil language. Besides all the morphological structures, a few syntactical features are also sporadically described in the present study since they enable the description of morphology clearer. For example, the treatment of cases and the functional syncretism of tenses require a considerable study in syntax also. The description of the functional aspect of different forms at the syntactical level is also attempted wherever it is demanded. The distribution of '*ceyyum*' pattern finite verbs, the non-finite verbs, etc., is also treated thus.

2 Nouns

2.0. The noun is one of the two major parts of speech in Tamil. Tolkāpppiyaṉār says that according to learned men words are of two kinds, viz., the nouns and the verbs[1]. He deals with the nouns mainly in Peyariyal and speaks of the various noun forms throughout the first two parts of his work sporadically.

2.1. Definition

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that all nouns, except, a class of verbal nouns, do not denote tense[2]. Thus according to him a noun is that which does not take tense marker.

Elsewhere, Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly states that case markers are suffixed to nouns[3] (6.3.). From this Cēṉāvaraiyar infers that according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, taking case marker is also a charateristic of a noun[4].

The noun in its nominative form occurs as a subject[5], i. e., fills up the subject-slot (6.6). To make this fact further clear, Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates the different types of predicates which a noun can take (6 6.2).

---

[1] TC, 158.

[2] TC, 70.

[3] TE, 116; TC, 69.

[4] Cēṉā., *A Commentary on TC*, 63, 69.

[5] TC, 65, 66.

It is evident that a number of nouns that are discussed in Tolkāppiyam are inflected for number and gender, e. g., *makaṉ* "man", *makaḷ* "daughter", *avaṉ* "he" *avaḷ* "she" etc. But since the verbs are also inflected for the same, it cannot be taken as a criterion to define nouns.

In Eccaviyal, when dealing with the characteristics of the adjectival participles (13.16), Tolkāppiyaṉār points out that they take noun-complements[6]. Thus it can be inferred here that a noun takes or is capable of taking adjectival participles as attributes (i.e., a noun is modified by the adjectival participles).

Thus the definition of a noun, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār may be summed up here. A noun is that which usually does not denote tense but takes or is capable of taking case marker. Further it is capable of occurring as a subject and of being modified by the adjectival participles (at the syntactical level).

Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran briefly defines that a noun is what occurs as a subject and what can be declined[7].

2.2 *Tiṇai* "Class"

It is a peculiarity of the Dravidian Languages in general and Tamil in particular that all beings and things are divided into two major classes, viz., the rationals and the non-rationals. Accordingly Tolkāppiyaṉār classifies the words denoting beings and things into two classes, '*uyartiṇai*' "the rational class" or "the high class" and '*aḵriṇai*' "the rational class" or "the non-high class". The rational class, according to him includes human beings, hermaphrodites and gods and the non-

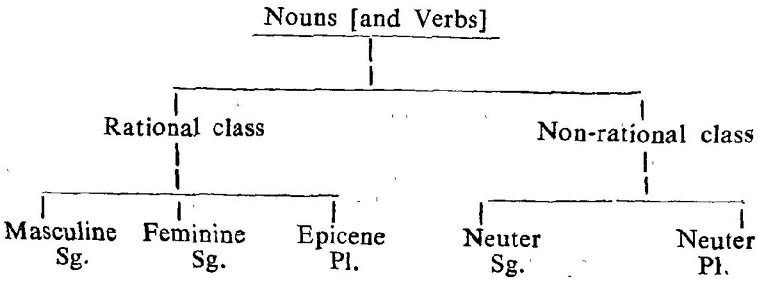
---

[6] TC, 433.

[7] Meenakshisundaran, T. P., *A History of Tamil Language* p. 79.

rational class includes all other beings and things[8]. This division of classes is not based on the morphology of words but on semantics, i.e., this division is made from the point of view of meaning of the words only.

Tolkāppiyaṉār further divides the rational class into three genders ('pāl'), namely the masculine gender singular, the feminine gender singular and the epicene plural (the rational plural) and the non-rational class into two genders, namely the neuter singular (the non-rational singular) and the neuter plural (the non-rational plural)[9]. Thus according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, there is five-fold gender distinction in Tamil (2.6). The two-way distinction of class and the five-way grammatical distinction of gender are charted down here.



Tamil has a natural (or lexical) division of classes according to the reasoning faculty of beings and things. The beings which have the reasoning power are classified under the rational class; the beings and the things which do not have the reasoning power are grouped under the non-rational class, in which the male and female are not distinguished grammatically.

In Peyariyal, Tolkāppiyaṉār divides the nouns, according to their usage, into three different classes: those which belong

---

[8] TC, 1.

[9] TC, 2, 3.

to the rational class; those which belong to the non-rational class and those which belong to the common class[10]. The third group of nouns that are common to both the classes do not have separate markers to denote the particular class or gender to which they belong; but their class (or gender) is determined by the predicates which they take[11], i.e., the predicates denote either the rational or the non-rational class. Thus, here also the two-way distinction of class is reiterated by Tolkāppiyaṉār.

E. g.

Cāttaṉ vantāṉ "the man named Cattan came" (rational)

Cāttaṉ vantatu "the animal named Cattan came" (non-rational)

Muṭavaṉ vantāṉ "the lame man came"

Muṭavaṉ vantatu "the lame animal came"

(*Cāttaṉ and Muṭavaṉ* are common nouns)

Nouns Discussed in Tolkāppiyam

The following are the nouns listed or whose formation is cited by Tolkāppiyaṉār. They are grouped and discussed under the different classes (2.2) according to their usage.

2.3. **Rational Nouns** (TC, 163-65).

1. *āṇmakaṉ* "male child" *āṇ makaṉ*
   peṇmakaṉ "female child" *peṇ makaṉ*

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that *-ṉ* denotes masculine gender[12]. But here in the word *makaṉ* (*maka-ṉ* or *mak-aṉ*) *-ṉ* does not denote gender. The preposed words *āṇ* "male" and *peṇ*

[10] TC, 160.

[11] TC, 172.

[12] TC, 6.

"'female" denote masculine and feminine gender respectively. From these two usages, it is evident that at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, the word *'makaṉ'* was used as a common word for both the male and female child. Thus the word *'makaṉ'* may, in this context, be treated as a single morpheme word though it can elsewhere be segmented into morphemes as given in the bracket.

2. "*peṇmai* - "feminine" with final *-i* juxtaposed"

For this, the commentators cite the example *peṇṭāṭṭi*, which may be segmented as

peṇ-t-āḷ-ti (*peṇ-ṭ-āṭ-ṭi*)

Dr. Caldwell and Sten Konow also regard *-ti* as a termination of feminine gender nouns[13].

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar thinks that the feminine suffix *-i* is referred to here and hence cites *kiḷavi, talaivi*, etc., as examples[14].

One may rightly interpret that the author here refers to the feminine nouns with final *-i* (i.e., the examples *peṇṭāṭṭi, kiḷavi, talaivi*, etc.,) and not to feminine gender suffix *-i*.

3. "Nouns formed from *nam* with the endings *-i* and *-ai*"

For these, the nouns *nampi* and *naṅkai* are cited as examples. *'nam'* is the oblique form of *nām* (3.3). *nampi* "the elite among men" may be analysed into *nam-pi*. It may be assumed here that *-pi* might have originally been *piṉ*.. A few forms of the same pattern may be cited here: *tam-pi, em-pi, num-pi*.

---

13 Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 228.
Sten Konow. LSI, p. 290.

14 Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., "Dravidian Nominal Inflexion", ER, XLII, p. 592.

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar regards the nouns like *nankai*, *tankai*, etc., as having the gender suffix *-ai*, since Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to them as *-ai* ending words.[15]

If it is accepted, the assignment and identification of *-k-* becomes a problem. But when Tolkāppiyaṉār speaks of the noun (*nankai* "the woman of distinction") with *-ai* ending, he refers to the final phoneme of the word only and not to the terminal marker. Thus one may segment the noun *nankai* as *nam-kai*. The nouns *tankai*, *enkai*, *nunkai*, etc., may be segmented in the same manner.

4. "Nouns *makaṉ* and *makaḷ* not denoting relationship". Here *makaṉ* means "man" and *makaḷ* means "woman". They may be segmented as *maka-ṉ* /*mak-aṉ* and *maka-ḷ* /*mak-aḷ*[16] Here *-ṉ* denotes masculine gender and *-ḷ* denotes feminine gender.

5. *māntar* "people". This may probably be segmented as *mānt-ar* (*-a-r*)

6. *makkaḷ* "people or children" *mak(a)-kaḷ* /*mak-kaḷ*[17]

---

[15] Ditto.

[16] The forms *makaṉ* and *makaḷ* may be segmented as *mak-aṉ*, *maka-ṉ* or *mak-a-ṉ* and *mak-aḷ maka-ḷ* or *mak-a-ḷ*. Dr. Zvelebil prefers to segment them as *mak-aṉ* and as *mak-aḷ* and identifies *mak-* as the root and stem ("More About Adverbs and Adjectives in Tamil." TC, IX (1961), p. 289). His preference to the above way of segmentation paves the way for better analysis and description of the noun '*makkaḷ*' *mak-kaḷ*. It must be pointed out here that '*maka*' "child" was used as a free form in the Tolkāppiyam period (TC, 56; TP, Marapiyal, 23).

[17] The optional use of *-kaḷ* suffix is restricted to the non-rational plural only by Tolkāppiyaṉār. So, it may be inferred here that Tolkāppiyaṉār does not identify and recognize the existence of the non-rational

7. *āṭū* "human male or man" *āṇ-tū* (-*ṭū*)

makaṭu "human female or woman"

mak-aḷ-tu (-*ṭu*) *makaḷ-ṭu*

8. Nouns with initial demonstrative roots and with final -*an* and -*ān*

E.g. *attanmaiyan* *a-tanmai-an* (-*a-n*)

anaiyān *a-nai-ān-* (-*ā-n*)

Iḷampūraṇar and Cēṉāvaraiyar cite the examples *avvāḷan ivvāḷan*, *ammāṭṭān*, etc.

9. "Nouns with initial demonstrative roots and ending with *peṇṭu* "lady"

E.g. *appeṇṭu* (*a-peṇ-ṭu*), *ippeṇṭu* (*i-peṇ-ṭu*) etc.

Cēṉāvaraiyar gives the examples *avvāṭṭi*, *ivvāṭṭi*, etc. Teyvaccilaiyār interprets '*peṇṭu*' as referring to the feminine gender marker and cites examples as *attanmaiyaḷ* (*a-tanmai-aḷ*), *anaiyāḷ* (*a-nai-āḷ*) "that kind of lady", etc.[18]

10. "Nouns derived from particles of comparison" (10.3, 8; 2.12)

puliyannan "tiger-like man" *puli-an-an*

11. "Nouns derived from the name of a country" (10.7)

cēra nāṭṭān "citizen of Cera country"

cēra-nāṭu-ān

---

plural morpheme -*kaḷ* in '*makkaḷ*'. *maka* "child" is a neuter singular noun and -*kaḷ* is suffixed to pluralise it. (It may be assumed here that originally the word '*makkaḷ*' might have denoted "children" and in course of time its meaning might have been extended to denote "people" also).

18 Tey., *A Commentary on TC*, p. 158.

12. "Nouns derived from the name of a family" (10.7)

cēramāṉ "one belonging to Cera family"
cēra-māṉ (<*makaṉ*)

13 "Nouns derived from the name of a group" (10.7)

avaiyattāṉ "one who belongs to a congregation"
avai-att-āṉ

14. "Nouns derived from the name of an action"

(*kollaṉ* "blacksmith" *kol-aṉ*)

Cēṉāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār cite the examples like *varuvār*, *celvār*, etc., also (5.4).

15. "Nouns derived from a possession" (10.7)

veṟpaṉ "chief of the hilly tract" *veṟpu-aṉ*

16. "Nouns derived from quality (i.e., qualitative nouns; 10.7)

kariyaṉ "dark man" *kar(i)-aṉ*

17. "Rational plural nouns denoting relationship"

tāyar "mothers" *tāy-ar*

18 "Rational plural nouns derived from the peculiarity of limbs"

peruṅkaṇṇar "big-eyed men" *peruṅ-kaṇ-ar*

19. "Rational plural nouns denoting caste or class"

āyar "cowherds"

20. "Catch names used at play by children"

paṭṭi puttirar 'a term used in a child's game of ancient times'

21. "Nouns derived from numerals" (4.16)

oru-v-aṉ "one man"

oru-v-ar "one man or one woman"

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that other similar nouns denoting the singular and the plural of the rational class also belong to this group (TC, 166).

2.4. Non-rational Nouns (TC, 168-70)

1. '*Iyaṟpeyar*' - "nouns other than derivatives"
   ā "cow", *nāy* "dog" *kutirai* "horse", etc.

The number distinction is not marked in these nouns; but it can be identified by the predicates which they take or by the non-rational plural marker *-kaḷ* (2.8.5), which they optionally take as suffix.

2. "Nouns derived from the name of an action" (5.4.6)
   varuva, *celva*, etc.
3. "Nouns derived from quality" (i. e., qualitative nouns; 10.7)
   karitu kar (i) -tu
4. "Numerals" (4.2-15)
   oṉṟu, *iraṇṭu*, etc.
5. ' Nouns derived from the particle of comparison"
   poṉṉaṉṉatu "gold-like object" *poṉ-aṉ-a-tu*

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that other similar nouns denoting the singular and the plural of the non-rational class also belong to this group (TC, 170).

2.5. Common Nouns (TC, 172-82)

The nouns that are common to both the classes denote either of them through the terminations of the verbs used as predicates[19] (2.2). These nouns, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, are of four kinds. They are 'iyaṟpeyar' - nouns other than derivatives, e.g., *Cāttaṉ*, *Koṟṟaṉ*, etc., 'ciṉaippeyar'-nouns

[19] TC, 172.

denoting peculiarity of limbs, e.g.. *muṭatti*, *muṭavaṉ* etc., 'ciṉaimutaṟpeyar'-nouns denoting peculiarity of limbs and whole, e.g.*muṭakkoṟṟi*, *muṭakkoṟṟaṉ*, etc , and 'muṟaippeyar'-nouns denoting relationship, e.g., *tantai, tāy*, etc.

Each of the first three kinds is further divided into four groups. They are: those denoting 'āṇmai'-male, those denoting 'peṇmai'-female, those denoting 'paṉmai'-plural and those denoting 'orumai' singular. The fourth one (i.e., nouns denoting relationship) is of two kinds; those denoting 'āṇmai'-male and those denoting 'peṇmai'-female.

Further, Tolkāppiyaṉār states that all nouns of common class referring to a female being denote a being of the rational or non-rational class of the female sex.

E.g.	1.	*Cātti vantāḷ*	"the woman named *Cātti* came"
	2.	*Cātti vantatu*	"the animal named *Cātti* came"
	1.	*Muṭatti vantāḷ*	"the lame woman came"
	2.	*Muṭatti vantatu*	"the lame animal came"
	1.	*Muṭakkoṟṟi vantāḷ*	"the lame woman named Koṟṟi came"
	2.	*Muṭakkoṟṟi vantatu*	"the lame animal named Koṟṟi came"
	1.	*Tāy vantāḷ*	"the mother woman came"
	2.	*Tāy vantatu*	"the mother animal came"

In the same way, all nouns of common class referring to a male being denote a being of the rational or non-rationa class of the male sex.

All common nouns referring to plurals denote one or more beings of the rational class or one man or one woman.

E.g.,	*Yāṉai vantatu*	"the elephant came"
	Yāṉai vantaṉa	"the elephants came"
	Yāṉai vantāṉ	"the elephant-like man came"
	Yāṉai vantāḷ	"the elephant-like woman came"

All nouns of common class referring to singular denote a being of the rational or non-rational class.

E.g.	*Kōtai vantāṉ*	"the man named Kotai came"
	Kōtai vantāḷ	"the woman named Kotai came"
	Kōtai vantatu	"the animal named Kotai came"

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, a few common nouns can be determined to denote the rational singular genders (masculine or feminine) by the particular finite verbs of *'ceyyum'* pattern[20]. (For examples, see 12.2.4.)

The same sūtra is interpreted in a different way to mean that the class to which some of the common nouns belong, may be determined through the *'ceyyum'* pattern finite verbs, which they take (12.2.4.).

2.6. Gender

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, there is five-fold distinction of gender in the Tamil language (2.2). For the purpose of classifying the genders in Tamil, the traditional grammarians take the number and gender distinctions together. In other words, the classification of genders, in Tamil, is made from the point of view of gender and number. If it is looked solely from the lexical point of view, it will be evident that there is only a three-way distinction of gender viz., the masculine gender, the feminine gender and the neuter gender. Thus it may be concluded that though according to the strictest sense of

[20] TC, 173.

gender (i.e., lexically) only a three-way distinction holds good, grammatically there is a five-way distinction of gender in Tamil.

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār there is a three-way distinction of gender in the rational class, viz., the masculine gender, the feminine gender and the epicene plural[21]. In most of the rational nouns the gender-distinction is marked by different suffixes. Tolkāpyiyaṉār says that nouns denoting hermaphrodite with more of feminine traits (which belong to the rational class) and nouns denoting gods do not have separate terminal markers; but they distinguish the genders of the rational class. In another sūtra Tolkāppiyaṉār says that nouns denoting hermaphrodite with more of feminine traits cannot occur in the masculine gender.[22]

E.g.	*Tēvaṉ vantāṉ*	"the male god came"
	Tēvi vantāḷ	"the female god came"
	Tēvar vantār	"the gods came"
	Pēṭi vantāḷ	"the hermaphrodite came"
	Pēṭiyar vantār	"the hermaphrodites came"

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār there is a two-way gender distinction in the non-rational class, viz., the neuter singular and the neuter plural, which is made from the point of view of number only[23]. Among the non-rational nouns there is no grammatical distinction of masculine and feminine gender.

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, *-ṉ* denotes the masculine gender, *-ḷ* the feminine gender, *-r*, *-pa* and *-mār* the epicene plural, *-tu*, *-ṭu* and *-ṟu* the neuter singular and *-a*, *-ā* and

[21] TC, 2.

[22] TC, 1,4, 12.

[23] TC, 3.

-*va* the neuter plural[24]. All the commentators, except Teyvaccilaiyār think that the author considers the above as the gender markers of the verbs only. But Teyvaccilaiyār explicitly states that the gender-number markers enumerated in kiḷaviyākkam are common to both the nouns and verbs and cites both nominal and verbal examples taking those markers[25]. Further he points out that only the non-rational nouns take the suffix -*pa* and not the rational nouns[26].

Enumerating the above mentioned suffixes, Tolkāppiyaṉār concludes in a sūtra that the gender markers in nouns and in verbs should not disagree[27]. From this, it can be inferred that Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses gender marking suffixes that are common to nouns and verbs in kiḷaviyākkam. In the sūtra above referred to, he himself recognizes the existence of the gender markers in nouns also.

When Tolkāppiyaṉār speaks of the agreement between nouns and verbs in sentences, he is referring to the fact that the subject and predicate agree in number-gender, e.g., *avaṉ vantāṉ* "he came", *avaḷ vantāḷ* "she came", etc. A concordance is found between the subject and predicate in Tamil. This kind of linkage is called governmental concord by Hockett[28].

There are some nouns, in Tamil, which do not have these characteristic endings (markers) but which by their significance (i.e., meaning) may be classified under different genders. For example, the words *āṇ* and *peṇ* show the masculine and

[24] TC, 5-9.

[25] Tey., op. cit., p. 5-11.

[26] Ibid, 7.

[27] TC, 11.

[28] Hockett, C.F., *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 215.

feminine significance respectively. Though the nouns *makaṭū* "human female" and *āṭū* "human male" are of the same endings - *ṭū*, the former is a feminine noun and the latter is a masculine noun. Tolkāppiyaṉār clearly indicates that some nouns cannot be identified as to which gender they belong to with the help of their endings[29], e.g., *alavaṉ* "crab", *peṇmakaṉ* "female child", *Cāttaṉ* (a common noun), etc. In the case of such nouns, the subjects and the predicates do not agree in their endings (terminal markers), but the number-gender can be determined by the predicates which these nouns take.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the noun converted to the feminine gender from the masculine gender occurs in the nature of feminine by taking a predicate of the feminine gender. Here Cēṉāvaraiyar apparently states that the word *peṇmakaṉ* though takes a masculine terminal marker, is followed by a predicate of the feminine gender,[30] e.g., *peṇmakaṉ vantāḷ* "the female child came".

Enumerating a series of nouns like *kuṭimai*, *āṇmai*, etc., Tolkāppiyaṉār says that they take non-rational verbs, even when they denote rational beings,[31] e.g., *tuñcākkaṇṇa vaṭa pulattaracē* "Kings of the north! keep awake". Here the noun '*aracu*' refers to the rational noun "king".

2.7. Number

There is only a two-way distinction of number in the Tamil language, which is, though not explicitly stated, well recognized and indicated by Tolkāppiyaṉār. They are the singular and the plural. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, there is a three-way

---

29 TC, 161.

30 TC, 194.
Cēṉā., op. cit., p. 194.

31 TC, 56.

distinction of gender in singular and a two-way distinction in plural. These distinctions are exhibited below:

- Number
  - Singular
    - Masculine Sg.
    - Feminine Sg.
    - Neuter Sg.
  - Plural
    - Epicene Pl.
    - Neuter Pl.

Only a few sub-classes of nouns (i.e , personal pronouns, verbal nouns class III, pronominalised nouns. 3.3-8; 5-4-7; 10.7) occur in all the three persons (3.2). All the other nouns usually occur in the third person only. There is only a number distinction in the first and second person nouns but there is number-gender distinction in the third person nouns.

In the third person nouns there are no separate markers to denote number and gender separately; but one and the same marker denotes both. For example, in the noun *'makaṉ'* *-ṉ* denotes not only singular number but also masculine gender. Thus those markers that denote number and gender are identified as number-gender markers.

2.8. Number-Gender Markers

An attempt is made here to analyse and identify the number-gender markers in the nouns discussed in Tolkāppiyam. For this purpose, examples from different sub-classes of nouns are taken into consideration (chapters II, III, IV nd V).

2.8.1. Masculine Singular Gender

makaṉ *mak-aṉ* (*-a-ṉ*) /*maka-ṉ*

poṉṉaṉ	*poṉ-aṉ*	(*-a-ṉ*)
nāṭṭāṉ	*nāṭu-āṉ*	(*-ā-ṉ*)

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that in poetry there are nouns which have their penultimate *-ā-* changed into *-ō-*[32], e.g., *villāṉ villōṉ vil-ōṉ* (*-ō-ṉ*).

It is evident that all the above terminations have the common terminal marker *-ṉ* which denotes masculine singular and the remaining *-a-*∼*-ā-*∼*-ō-* may be taken to denote third person. Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly says that *-ṉ* denotes masculine. Thus he makes the above segmentation possible (9.3).

2.8.2. Feminine Singular Gender

makaḷ	*mak-aḷ*	(*-a-ḷ*) / *maka-ḷ*	
nāṭṭāḷ	*nāṭu-āḷ*	(*-ā-ḷ*)	
toṭiyōḷ	*toṭi-ōḷ*	(*-ō-ḷ*) *-ō-* < *-ā-*	(TC, 195)
orutti	*oru-tti*		
peṇṭāṭṭi	*peṇ-ṭ-āṭ-ṭi*	(∼*-ṭi*)	
kiḷavi	*kiḷa-v-i*		

In the above nouns *-ḷ*, *- tti*, *- ṭi* and *- i* are found to occur as feminine singular markers. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the *-i* ending feminine words, he does not mention *-i* as the feminine marker, but on segmentation of a few feminine nouns *-i* can be arrived at as an allomorph of feminine gender marker.

2.8.3. Neuter Singular Gender

atu	*a-tu*	
kuṟuntāṭṭu	*kuṟum-tāṭ-ṭu*	(*tāḷ-ṭu*; 10.7)[33]

[32] TC, 195.

[33] The examples like *kuṟuntāṭṭu, kuṇṭukaṭṭu,* etc., are considered as appellative verbs by the commentators.

iraṇṭu	*iraṇ-ṭu*
oṉṟu	*oṉ-ṟu*

Tolkāppiyaṉār lists-*tu*,-*ṭu*,-*ṟu* as the endings of the neuter singular gender words. These are phonologically conditioned variants.

Many of the neuter nouns do not have separate terminal markers and such of those nouns may be identified as simple nouns, since other noun forms can be derived from them, e.g., *aracu*+*aṉ* = *aracaṉ*; *aracu*+*i* = *araci*; *aracu*+*ar* = *aracar*, etc., *aracu* is a neuter singular noun.

2.8.4. Epicene Plural Gender

tāyar	*tāy-ar* (-*a*-*r*)
ūrār	*ūr-ār* (-*ā*-*r*)
ūrōr	*ūr-ōr* (-*ō*-*r*) -*ō*- <-*ā*-(TC, 195)
tantaimār	*tantai-mār*
tāymār	*tāy-mār*

The occurrence of -*mār* as the nominal termination is neither found in Tolkāppiyam nor in Caṅkam literature. Teyvaccilaiyār cites the examples as the above. However, it is evident that in all these instances -*r* denotes epicene plural. There are no separate markers to denote masculine and feminine plurals separately. One and the same market -*r* includes both the genders in the plural.

2.8.5. Neuter Plural Gender

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār there are many nouns of the non-rational class, which are common to both singular an

But they are pronominalised nouns (2.12; 10.3,7) formed by the addition of neuter singular termination -*tu* with the simple nouns *tāḷ*, *kaṇ*. etc.

plural without taking any specific marker. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the same nouns denoting non-rational beings or things are used to denote either number of that class[34]. Then he says that they are determined to be singular or plural according to the number of the verbs which they take as predicates[35] (2.4.).

E.g. *ā vantatu* "the cow came"

ā vantaṉa "the cows came"

In a previous sūtra, he says that the non-rational nouns may optionally, take *-kaḷ* as plural marker[36], e.g., *nāy* (sg.) "dog", *nāykaḷ* (pl.) "dogs". Thus it is evident that the allomorphs of the non-rational plural marker are -ϕ and *-kaḷ*.

The pronouns in the neuter plural gender have different endings[37].

E.g.	*av*	"they"	*a-v*
	avai	"they"	*a-vai*
	pala	"many"	*pal-a*

Here *-v*, *-vai* and *-a* occur as allomorphs of neuter plura marker. Dr. A.C. Chettiyar also identifies *-v*, in *av*, *iv* and *uv* as neuter plural morpheme[38].

2.9.1. A few other Neuter Nouns

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the nouns like *kaṇ* "eye", *tōḷ* "shoulder", *mulai* "breast", etc., which denote limbs in

[34] TC, 170.

[35] TC, 171.

[36] TC, 169.

[37] TC, 167, 168.

[38] Chettiyar. A.C., "The Dravidian Neuter Plural" JAU, XIV (1949), p. 2.

pairs were considered as plural in number. There is no marker in them to denote plurality. Recognizing them as plural nouns Tolkāppiyaṉār says that they need not necessarily denote plural number unless they are followed by neuter plural verbs[39].

E.g. *avaḷ kaṇ nallaḷ* "she is fair-eyed"

avaḷ kaṇṇāṟ koṭṭai "she is blind"

In his commentary, Dr. P. S. Sastri remarks that if a woman has one of her eyes very fine, it may be said that she is fair-eyed[40].

In the examples like '*kaṇ nontaṉa*' "eyes ached" the noun *kaṇ* denotes plural.

2.9.2. Honorific Usages

The use of plural words in honorific singular was prevalent even at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. He says that (to indicate respect) the use of plural words to denote one person or one object is allowed in speech but is not in accordance with the rules of grammar[41]. Thus it is obvious that the use of plural words as honorific singular had not become literary in the Tolkāppiyam period.

E.g. *yām vantēm* "I came" (literally "we came")

nīyir vantīr "you came" (literally "you (pl.) came")

avar vantār "he came" (literally "they came")

It is evident from the commentaries that even with regard to non-rational class (to indicate respect) the rational plural words were used and not the neuter plural words.

---

39 TC, 61.

40 Sastri, P.S, *A Commentary on TC*, p. 61.

41 TC, 27.

In 'Iṭaiyiyal' he says that (to show certain significance of honour) the epicene plural termination *-ār* is suffixed to 'iyaṟpeyar'-"nouns other than derivatives" and that those 'iyaṟpeyar' to which the epicene plural termination is suffixed take the verbal predicates of plural number[42].

E.g., *Cāttaṉār, aracaṉār, nariyār, tantaiyār*, etc.

Cāttaṉār vantār	'Cattan came'
nariyār vantār	'The fox came'

2.9.3. Epicene Plural Marker in the Conjunctival Compound (19.11).

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the conjunctival compounds comprised of rational nouns as components take epicene plural ending[43] (i.e., *-ar*).

E.g., *kapilaparaṇar*

cēracōḻapāṇṭiyar

2.10. Different Kinds of Nouns Treated in Tolkāppiyam.

Tolkāppiyaṉār identifies various sub-classes of nouns, many of which are classified from the point of view of semantic criterion only. All the different sub-classes of nouns mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār are, here, enumerated in the alphabetical order[44] and are briefly discussed.

1. *Akṟiṇaippeyar* - "Non-rational nouns" (2 4)

   ā, atu, oṉṟu, etc.

---

[42] TC, 270.

[43] TC, 421.

[44] For the numbers of the sūtras dealing with the different sub-classes of nouns, refer to the index.

2. *Akṟiṇaiviravuppeyar* - "Common nouns used in the non-rational class" (2.5).

   Cāttaṉ, tantai, etc.

3. *Ākupeyar* - "Transferred nouns or metonymy"

   teṅku tiṉṟāṉ "He ate the coconut" (literally, he ate the coconut tree)

   oru cēr koṭu "Give me one seer" (of oil, etc.) (literally, give me a seer)

4. *Iyaṟpeyar* - "Nouns other than derivatives" (2.4, 5)

   koṟṟaṉ, ā, etc.

5. *Uyartiṇaippeyar* - "Rational nouns" (2.3)

   makaṉ, avaṉ, kariyaṉ, etc.

6. *Eṇṇuppeyar* - "Numerals" (2.3,4; 4.1-21)

   oṉṟu, iraṇṭu, mūṉṟu, etc.

7. *Kiḷaippeyar* - "Nouns denoting caste-groups"

   amaṇ, *eyiṉ*, etc. (names of sects)

8. *Kiḷainutaṟpeyar* "Nouns denoting relations"

   tamaṉ, namaṉ, numaṉ, emaṉ, etc.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that these nouns with initial *ta-*, *na-*, *nu-* and *e-* and denoting relationship cannot be segmented into component parts[45]. But it is clear that they may be segmented into (bound) morphemes, though not into free forms, e.g. *tam-a-ṉ, nam-a-ṉ, num-a-ṉ, em-a-ṉ*, etc.[46]

---

[45] TC, 410.

[46] Cēṉāvaraiyar mentions *tamaṉ, namaṉ* as examples and describes at length that they respectively mean his relation or their relation and my or our relation and hence they cannot be said to have been formed from *tām-aṉ* and *nām-aṉ*. Here it is evident that Cēṉāvaraiyar attache

9. *Ciṉaippeyar* - "Nouns denoting parts of a whole"

   kai, ilai, etc.

10. *Ciṉaimutaṟpeyar* – "Nouns derived from the peculiarity of limbs and whole" (2.5)

    Cittalaiccāttaṉ, koṭumpuṟa maruti, etc.

11. *Cuṭṭuppeyar* - "Demonstrative Pronouns" (3.10)

    avaṉ, avaḷ, atu, etc.

12. *Toḻiṟpeyar* – "Verbal Nouns" (5.2-7)

    tuḷ, cem, ceytal, etc.

13. *Paṇpukoḷpeyar* - "Qualitative Nouns" (2.3, 4)

    kariyaṉ, periyaḷ, etc.

    These are the nouns derived from the adjective roots.

14. *Mutaṟpeyar* – "Nouns denoting whole" (i. e., an object in its entirety)

    yāṉai, maram, etc.

15. *Muṟaippeyar* - "Nouns denoting relationship"

    aṇṇai, tantai, etc.

16. *Viravuppeyar* - "Common Nouns" (2.5)

    Cāttaṉ, muṭavaṉ, etc.

17. *Viṉāppeyar* - "Interrogative Pronouns"

    yāvaṉ, yavaḷ, etc.

18. *Viṉaippeyar* – "Verbal noun class III" (5.4)

    varuvār, celvār, etc.

    varuvār "those who come"

---

more importance to meaning than to structure and hence his explanation is far from satisfactory.

These sub-classes of nouns are overlapping and structurally many of them do not hold good as separate classes but they are sorted and listed here in order to assess the concept of Tolkāppiyaṉār with regard to nouns.

2.11. A Study of '*Peyar*' as *treated in Tolkāppiyam*

Tolkāppiyaṉār identifies all the nouns by the common terminology 'peyar'. There are a few structural sub-classes of nouns, which are also discussed under the term 'peyar'. Thus it is evident that nouns in Tamil language with all its sub-classes form a separate part of speech.

Usually the pronouns (a sub-class of noun) do not take the vocative form of case (6.3) and many of them are not capable of being modified by the adjectival participles (13.16). They are substitutes of nouns. The numerals which are also in specified meaning (usage) in Tamil is quite obvious. They are also a kind of reference words. Tolkāppiyaṉār himself considers the verbal nouns as a special sub-class of nouns (2.1; 5.1-7).

Thus in the present study the pronouns, the numerals and the verbal nouns are treated in separate chapters, as they are of different structure and as they involve detailed study. Except these sub-classes all the simple and derived nouns treated by Tolkāppiyaṉār are exhaustively discussed in the preceding pages of this chapter. All these nouns belong to one and the same set of paradigm, characterized by the same set of inflexional categories and all of them behave alike in syntax, i. e., they are, functionally, substitutable.

After discussing all the sub-classes of nouns in a few chapters, the inflexional category of nouns, i. e., the case is taken up for the study in the sixth chapter. Then follows a

study of 'cāriyais' (inflexional increments, which intervene between the nouns and the case markers) in the seventh chapter.

2.12. **Pronominalised Nouns (10.7)**

There is no such sub-class of nouns treated in Tolkāppiyam. This class of nouns is arrived at after an intensive study of 'kuṟippu' (the so-called appellative verbs, 10.7). The nouns of this class are formed from either the nominal or adjectival stems by the addition of different pronominal terminations (see note 14 on chapter VIII). Thus they are capable of being inflected for different persons (3.2).

Nouns formed from nominal stems

kōlēṉ (PN, 72) "of the sceptre-I" *kōl-ēṉ*

kōlai (PN, 20) "of the sceptre-you" *kōl-ai*

kaḷiṟṟiṉir (PN, 109) "of the elephant-you" *kaḷiṟu-iṉ-ir*

kaṇṇai (PN, 353) "of the eyes-you" *kaṇ-ai*

kiḷaiyēm (PN, 379) "of the relation-we" *kiḷai-ēm*

Nouns formed from the adjectival stems

periyam (PN, 78) "big-we" *peri-am*

periyōr (PN, 140) "they who are eminent" *peri-ōr*

iṉiyai (PN, 94) "of sweetness-you" *iṉi-ai*

iṉiyaṉ (PN, 216) "of sweetness-he" *iṉi-aṉ*

It is obvious that these nouns are really a type of derived nouns. But the traditional grammarians consider these nouns also as 'kuṟippu'.

Jules Bloch has coined the most convenient term 'pronominalised nouns"[47] which is, here, employed in a more restricted sense. (See note 19 on chapter X).

[47] Bloch, Jules, GSD, p. 35ff.

3 Pronouns

3.1. Definition

The pronouns are words of reference. C. F. Hockett says, "As to domain-ties, the most widespread variety of substitutes is that which "replaces" nouns, or one or another sub-class of nouns and noun phrases. When such substitutes are words or stems rather than bound affixes, they are called pronouns"[1]. It is evident from the above statements that those words which are used to replace nouns are termed as pronouns. Nida says that pronouns are grammatically related to nouns and that they are relatively short[2].

In Tamil also, the pronouns are words representing nouns. They are also called 'peyar' - "name-words", like any other nouns in the language and they are declined in the same way as nouns (2.1). Tolkāppiyaṉār deals with the nouns and the pronouns in one and the same chapter called 'Peyariyal'. The pronouns behave like nouns and they are, functionally, substitutes (2.11).

The pronouns, in Tamil, do not take the vocative form of case[3] (6.13.1). Further it is a note-worthy fact that Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates all the pronouns in separate sūtras[4]. Thus it can be inferred that though he includes them also

[1] Hockett, C. F., *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 257.

[2] Nida, Eugene, *Morphology*, p. 149.

[3] TC, 137, 142, 143, 148.

[4] TC, 162, 164, 167, 168, 184-190, 192-193.

under 'peyar', he makes a distinction of them from regular nouns.

Classification of Pronouns.

The pronouns, in Tamil, may be conveniently divided into: (1) the personal pronouns, (2) the reflexive pronouns, (3) the demonstrative pronouns, (4) the interrogative pronouns and (5) the indefinite pronouns.

3.2. Personal Pronouns

The three persons distinguished in Tamil language are the first person, the second person and the third person. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not discuss the three different persons separately, but he refers to them when he describes the usages of some verbs, verbal terminations, nouns, etc[5].

The personal pronouns may be divided into those which refer to the first person - the speaker or speakers, those which refer to the second person - the person or persons addressed and those which refer to the third person - the person or persons, etc., spoken of. Thus according to Tolkāppiyam, there is a three-way distinction of personal pronouns, each of which is, in turn, divided into two classes, according to the difference in number, the singular and the plural. The personal pronouns vary in number but not in gender.

Each one of them has a free form (nominative form) and a bound form (oblique form). The free form occurs in the nominative case and the bound form elsewhere.

3.3. First Person Pronouns

It is evident from Tolkāppiyam that the first person pronouns are used only in connection with the rational beings [6].

---

[5] TC, 28, 29, 187, 202, 203, 205-207, 222-227, etc.
[6] TC, 162.

	Free[7]	Bound[8]	
Sg.	*yāṉ*	*eṉ*	" I "
Pl.	*yām*	*em*	" We "
	nām	*nam*	" We "

These forms may be segmented as *yā-ṉ*, *e-ṉ*, *yā-m*, *e-m*, *nā-m* and *na-m*. *yā-*, *e-*, *nā-* and *na-* denote first person; *-ṉ* denotes singular number and *-m* denotes plural.

Tolkāppiyam records the co-existence of the two forms *yām* and *nām* in the plural but does not mention any difference in their use. The commentators Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Kallāṭaṉār clearly point out that *yām* is the exclusive, and *nām* is the inclusive plural[9]. According to Sten Konow, K. V. Subbiah and Dr. Zvelebil the inclusive : exclusive opposition was not existing in the primitive Dravidian[10]. But Prof. Burrow agreeing with the arguments of Sten Konow indicates that the said distinction was in the primitive Dravidian[11]. Jules Bloch opines that the very fact that there are two words and that *nām* should exactly have remained inclusive, enables us to affirm that Tamil is originally in accord with the rest of the family[12] (in having two kinds of plurals). Dr. P. S. Sastri

7 Ditto.

8 TE, 188, 192.

9 Nac., *A Commentary on TC*, 164.
Kal., *A Commentary on TC*, 165.

10 Sten Konow, LSI, IV, p. 293, 294.
Subbiah, K. V., DS, II, p. 3.
Zvelebil. K., "Personal Pronouns in Tamil and Dravidian", IIJ, VI (1962), p. 67.

11 Burrow, T., "Dravidian Studies V," BSO (A)S, XI (1946) p. 596, 597.

12 Bloch, Jules, GSD, p. 31.

explicitly states that there was no room for the classification as the plural exclusive and the plural inclusive at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār[13]. Dr. Zvelebil points out that these two forms are used promiscuously without any distinction in meaning[14]. Since Tolkāppiyaṉār does not indicate any difference between them, it may be concluded that the opposition inclusive : exclusive as a clear-cut distinction of denotation had not crystalized at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār (9.5.1,2)

3.4. Inclusive First Person Pronoun 'ellām' - "all"

According to Tolkāppiyam the word '*ellām*' is common to both the classes[15] (2.5). When it refers to '*aḵṟiṇai*'- the non-rational class, the flexional increment - *vaṟṟu* - (*-aṟṟ*; 7.6.1) intervenes in between *ellā* and the case markers[16] and when it refers to 'uyartiṇai' - the rational class '*nam*' is inserted in between '*ellā*' and the case markers[17]. The commentators consider *nam* as 'cāriyai' - flexional increment; but it is really oblique form of '*nām*'. In both the cases *-um* is suffixed to them after the case markers.

Thus the word '*ellām*' was declined at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār as *ellāvaṟṟaiyum, ellāvaṟṟoṭum*, etc., in the non-rational class and *ellānammaiyum, ellanammoṭum*, etc., in the rational class.

This form may be segmented as *el(l)- ā- -m*; *el-* inclusive plural stem; *-ā-* first person or third person marker, determined by the context only; *-m* plural marker.

---

13 Sastri, P. S., HGT, p. 128.

14 Zvelebil, K., op. cit., p. 67.

15 TC, 174, 186.

16 TE, 189.

17 TE, 190, TC, 187.

3.5. Second Person Pronouns

Tolkāppiyaṉār includes the second person pronouns in the list of common nouns[18] (2.5).

	Free[19]	Bound[20]	
Sg.	*nī*	*niṉ*	"you" (sg.)
Pl.	*nīyir*	*num*	"you" (pl.)

These forms may be segmented as *nī-φ*, *ni-ṉ*, *nī-* (*y*) - *ir* and *nu-m*; *nī-* and *nu-* denote second person; *-ṉ* denotes singular; *-m* and *-ir* plural.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the nominative form '*nīyir*' is derived from *num* and he identifies it as 'nummiṉtiripeyar' - the modified form of '*num*'[21].

The non-existence of the vowel *-i-* and the existence of the vowel -u- in *num* may be considered due to the rounding of the vowel by the influence of the final bilabial consonant[22].

Tolkāppiyaṉār clearly points out that the words *nī* and *nīyir* do not denote gender[23].

3.6. Inclusive Second Person Pronoun 'ellīr' - "you all"

Unlike all other second person pronouns, it is included in the list of rational nouns[24]:

---

18 TC, 174.

19 TC, 174, 188-190, 193.

20 TE, 179, 325, 326,

21 TE, 326.

22 Bloch, Jules, op. cit., p. 32.

23 TC, 188.

24 TC, 164.

In the oblique forms, the form '*num*' intervenes between *ellīr* and the case marker and then *-um* is added to it[25]. Thus it was declined at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār as *ellīrnum-maiyum*, *ellīrnummoṭum*, etc.

'*Ellīr*' may be segmented as *el* (*l*) – *ī-r*. *el-* inclusive plural stem; *-ī-* second person marker; *-r* plural marker; *-um* the particle signifying completion or all-inclusiveness.

3.7. Third Person Pronouns

Dr. Caldwell says that the Dravidian languages like most other primitive uncompounded tongues, are destitute of pronouns (properly so-called) of the third person, and use instead demonstratives signifying this or that, with the suffixes of number and gender[26]. Dr. P. S. Sastri also states that there is no personal pronoun in Tamil for the third person, since the demonstrative itself serves its purpose[27]. But it is evident from Tolkāppiyam that in the ancient Tamil *tāṉ* and '*tām*' were used as third person pronouns. R. Swaminatha Aiyar, V. Venkatarajulu Reddiyar and Dr. M. Varadarajaṉār have treated *tāṉ* and *tām* as the pronouns of third person in their treatises[28]. Dr. Zvelebil is also fully convinced that the personal pronouns of third person were *tān* and *tām* at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār[29]. The following arguments may be cited in support of the fact that '*tān*' and '*tām*' were the third person pronouns of ancient Tamil.

---

25 TE, 191.

26 Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 420.

27 Sastri, P. S., op. cit., p. 125.

28 Swaminatha Aiyar, R., "The Aryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronouns" OC, (1952), p. 186.
Venkatarajulu Reddiyar, V., "Dravidic Pronouns", p. 73-83.
Varadarajaṉār, M , *Moḻinūl*, p. 181.

29 Zvelebil, K., op. cit., p. 68.

1. Like the pronouns of the other two persons *tāṉ* and *tām* do have only the number distinction and not the gender distinction. As in other personal pronouns here also *-ṉ* denotes singular and *-m* denotes plural.

E.g.,	*yā-ṉ*	"I"	*yā-m*	"We"	
	e-ṉ	"I"	*e-m*	"We"	
	ni-ṉ	"you"	*nu-m*	"you"	(pl)
	tā-ṉ		*tā-m*		

2. In Cañkam literature they, in their nominative form, occur as subjects in agreement with the third person verbs.

tāṉ piriṭal cūḻāṉ (NT, 72) "He did not intend to leave me"

3. All the commentators of Tolkāppiyam, except the latest Dr. P. S Sastri consider *tāṉ* and *tām* as the pronouns of third person, which fact is evident from the examples cited by them for the sūtras in which Tolkāppiyaṉār says that *tām* is plural in number and that *tāṉ* is singular in number[80].

tām vantār	"They came" (Rational)
tām vantāṉa	"They came" (Non-rational)
tāṉ vantāṉ	"He came"
tāṉ vantāḷ	"She came"
tāṉ vantatu	"It came"

4. To form the oblique base of these forms, the included vowel in them is shortened, which is in accordance with the formation pattern of the oblique forms of other persona pronouns.[81].

[80] TC, 184, 185.

[81] TE, 188, 192.

yān - eṉ	*nī - niṉ*	*tāṉ - taṉ*
nām - nam	*nīyir - num*	*tām - tam*
yām - em		

5. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, in the third person inclusive pronoun '*ellārum*' - "all", "*tam*" is inserted between ellār and the case markers for the formation of the oblique base[32]. Since the oblique forms of the first and the second personal pronouns, '*nam* and *num*' are inserted respectively in the first and the second person inclusive pronouns, '*ellār*' and '*ellīr*' to form the oblique bases (3.4; 3.6) it must be the oblique form of the third personal pronoun that is inserted in the third personal inclusive pronoun *ellārum* (3.8)

E.g.,	*ellā nammaiyum*	*-nam-<nām*
	ellā-nam-ai-(y)-um	
	ellīrnummaiyum	*-num-<nīyir*
	ellir-num-ai-(y)-um	
	ellār tammaiyum	*-tam-<tām*
	ellār-tam-ai-(y)-um	

6. Later-day grammarian Pavaṇanti, after listing all the first and the second personal pronouns in a sūtra, says that all the remaing forms are of the third person[33]. He treats the pronominals *tāṉ* and *tām* in a following sūtra[34]. Thus it can be inferred that these two forms are third personal pronouns.

7. One more evidence which is cited by Dr. Zvelebil may be added here. "In the full and regular set of corresponding Dr. etyma tāṉ is mentioned to be used, in some

---

[32] TE, 191.

[33] Naṉ., 285.

[34] Naṉ., 287.

languages of the family, not in the function of a common - reflexive (oneself) but only in the third person (Go. *tanā*, Kur., *tān*); Old Kannada and Telugu used, it seems, this pronoun also in the function of the personal pronoun in the meaning, he, she, it"[85]. (Dr. = Dravidian; Go. = Gondi; Kur. = Kurukh)

Thus it is concluded that *tāṉ* and *tām* were the original third personal pronouns which fact is evidently treated in Tolkāppiyam.

	Free[86]	Bound[87]	
Sg.	*tāṉ*	*taṉ*	"he, she, it"
Pl.	*tām*	*tam*	"They"

These forms may be segmented as *tā-ṉ*, *ta-ṉ*, *tā-m* and *ta-m*. *tā-* and *ta-* denote third person; *-ṉ* denotes singular; *-m* denotes plural.

3.8. Inclusive Third Person Pronoun 'ellārum' 'all'

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, it has reference only to the rational class. In the oblique base '*tam*' is inserted between '*ellār*' and the case markers and then *-um* is added to it[88]. Thus it was declined at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār as ellārtammaiyum, ellārtammoṭum, etc. (3.7).

The forms '*nam*', '*num*' and '*tam*' inserted in the inclusive pronouns are 'cāriyais' - flexional increments, according to the commentators; but they are really oblique forms of the plural

[85] Zvelebil, K., op. cit., p. 69.

[86] TC, 174, 184, 185.

[87] TE, 188, 192.

[88] TE, 191.

pronouns of the first, second and third persons respectively (3.4, 6, 7).

3.9. **Reflexive Pronouns.**

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not mention anything about the reflexive pronouns. Only at a later date *tāṉ* and *tām* have come to be used as reflexive pronouns but undoubtedly they were original pronouns of third person But Dr. P. S. Sastri in his English commentary on Tolkāppiyam treats them as reflexive pronouns[39]. Further he argues in his thesis, "Tolkāppiyaṉār states that *tāṉ* and *tām* are respectively used in singular and plural. He has not mentioned that they should be used in the third person; besides from the context of the sūtras dealing with *tāṉ* and *tām*, it is clear that he thinks that they could be used along with the pronouns of all persons and genders[40]. Further he states that *tāṉ* and *tām* were originally reflexive in origin and their use has been so extended that they are used even as demonstrative pronouns[41]. Mr. C. R. Sankaran also seems to be of the same view, for he says "It might be in their origin that *tāṉ* and *tām* were reflexives and later on, perhaps after the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, they might have been used as personal pronouns"[42].

The views and arguments of these scholars do not stand in the light of the elucidating arguments cited earlier (3.7.1-7). R. Swaminatha Aiyar rightly concludes in his paper, "It would therefore seem that the base *tāṉ* was in its inception merely a pronoun of the third person, and that a reflexive

---

[39] Sastri, P. S., *A Commentary on TC*, 184, 185.

[40] Ditto., HGT, p. 137.

[41] Ditto.

[42] Sankaran, C. R., "Reconstruction of the Proto-Dravidian Pronouns", BDCRI, I (1939), p. 103.

meaning has come to be superimposed so as to overshadow its original sense to such an extent that it has now come to be called the 'reflexive pronoun' and to be understood reflexively even when used merely as a pronoun of the third person[43]. For the reflexive usage of *tāṉ* and *tām* a few examples may be cited from Caṅkam literature.

1. *aṉṉai tāṉ arintu aṉṟō ilaḷē* (NT, 175)

   "The mother herself did not know"

2. *kuṟumakaḷ ... tiṅkural kiḷiyum tām aṟipavē* (NT, 209)

   "Even the parrots understand the sweet voice of the young daughter"

3.10 Demonstrative Pronouns

H. A. Gleason says, "Most languages have words or affixes which are used to specify the particular instances intended; they are sometimes called demonstratives"[44]. In Tamil also there are such words used to specify the particular beings or things. They are identified as demonstrative pronouns.

The demonstrative pronouns are of three classes:

(1) the remote demonstrative pronouns, (2) the proximate demonstrative pronouns and (3) the intermediate demonstrative pronouns. These pronouns vary not only in number but also in gender. All the demostrative pronouns enumerated in Tolgāppiyam are listed here under different classes[45].

---

[43] Swaminatha Aiyar, R., op. cit., p. 195.

[44] Gleason, H. A., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, p. 232.

[45] TC, 162, 167.

		Remote	Proximate	Intermediate
1.	Masculine sg.	*avan̲*	*ivan̲*	*uvan̲*
2.	Feminine sg.	*avaḷ*	*ivaḷ*	*uvaḷ*
3.	Epicene pl.	*avar*	*ivar*	*uvar*
4.	Neuter sg.	*atu* *ak̲tu*	*itu* *ik̲tu*	*utu* *uk̲tu*
5.	Neuter pl.	*avai* *av*	*ivai* *iv*	*uvai* *uv*

Tolkāppiyan̲ār says that *a*-, *i*- and *u*- are three demonstratives[46]. So, it is evident that the above demonstrative pronouns are formed by adding the pronominal terminations to the demonstrative bases *a*-, *i*- and *u*-. Tolkāppiyan̲ār identifies the demonstrative pronouns as 'cuṭṭuppeyar', 'cuṭṭuppeyaṟkkiḷavi' and 'cuṭṭumutaṟpeyar'[47].

The segmentation of the above pronouns poses, indeed, a difficult problem. It is not possible to segment *ivan̲*, *ivaḷ* and *ivar* as *i-an̲*, *i-aḷ* and *i-ar*, since they become *iyan̲*, *iyaḷ* and *iyar* and not, as is actually the case, *ivan̲*, *ivaḷ* and *ivar*. The forms *iyan̲*, *iyaḷ*, etc., are not acceptable in Tamil as demonstrative pronouns. Tolkāppiyan̲ār formulates a sandhi rule saying that the consonant -*v*- intervenes between the demonstrative roots and the following vowels or semi-vowels[48]. It is evident here that he makes the above segmentation possible. Thus according to him those pronouns may be segmented as follows.

a-v-an̲	*i-v-an̲*	*u-v-an̲*	(*-a-n̲*)
a-v-aḷ	*i-v-aḷ*	*u-v-aḷ*	(*-a-ḷ*)

[46] TE, 31.

[47] TC, 37, 38, 148, etc.

[48] TE, 206, 207, 238, 255.

a-v-ar	*i-v-ar*	*u-v-ar*	(*-a-r*)
a-tu	*i-tu*	*u-tu*	
a-k̲-tu	*i-k̲-tu*	*u-k̲-tu*	
a-v-ai	*i-v-ai*	*u-v-ai*	
a-v	*i-v*	*u-v*	

The intervening elements *-v-* and *-k̲-* may be identified as euphonic elements. The final *-v* in *av*, *iv*, and *uv* is a neuter plural termination. Dr. A. C. Chettiar also identifies it in the same way[49].

Many scholars consider *av-*, *iv-* and *uv-* as the common bound stems of the demonstrative pronouns and describe them as alternants of *a-*, *i-* and *u-*. Tolkāppiyan̲ār does not indicate the existence of these as bound stems and even in the rule which says that there are only four words with the final consonant *-v* in Tamil, he refers to the neuter plural demonstrative pronouns. C. P. Venkatarama Ayyar in his study on the demonstrative bases concludes that the loss of *-v* in the initial lengthening of the demonstrative base in poetry; that the use of the forms in literature and in the rules and in the commentaries on grammar and that the survival of *v* in mixed sandhi strongly indicate that the old demonstrative bases were *av*, *iv* and *uv*[50]. C. P. Venkatarama Ayyar and R. Swaminatha Aiyar wrongly interpret the Tolkāppiyam and Nan̲n̲ūl sūtras dealing with the sandhi changes that occur after neuter plu demonstrative pronouns. They take these pronouns *av*, *iv* and *uv* as the common bound stems for demonstrative pronouns[51].

49 Chettiar, A.C., "The Dravidian Neuter Plural", JAU, XIV, (1949), p. 2.

50 Venkatarama Ayyar, C. P., DS, II, p. 9.

51 Ibid., p. 5; TE, 81.
p. 7; Nan̲, 235, 250.

A few of the examples given by way of arguments by C. P. Venkatarama Ayyar are neuter plural demonstrative pronouns[62]. So, even if his conclusion is to be accepted as correct, only a few of his arguments prove it to be so.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the demonstrative roots are lengthened in poetry[63]. Thus the lengthened forms are *ā*-, *ī*- and ū-.

These demonstrative bases *a*-, *ā*-, *i*-, *ī*-, *u*-, and *ū*-, may be identified as proclitics[64]. (17.14.6). The non-rational pronouns take different 'cāriyais' before they take case markers (7.6, 13).

3.11. Interrogative Pronouns[65]

Masculine	sg.	*yāvaṉ*	"who" (he)
Feminine	sg.	*yāvaḷ*	"who" (she)
Epicene	pl.	*yāvar, yār*	"who" (they)
Neuter	sg.	*yātu, yāvatu*	"what" (it)

Swaminatha Aiyar, R., op. cit., p. 158.

Swaminatha Aiyar segments *avaṉ*, *ivaṉ*, *uvaṉ* and *evaṉ* into *av-aṉ*, *iv-aṉ uv-aṉ* and *ev-aṉ* on the authority of Naṉṉūl sūtra 235, which does not deal with the sandhi changes that occur after the common stems *av*-, *iv*-, etc., but with the changes that occur after the neuter plural demonstrative pronouns *av*, *iv*, and *uv* only.

62 Venkatarama Ayyar, C. P., op. cit , p. 9
ivvē "they" (neuter plural noun)
avvē "they" („)

63 TE, 208.

64 Zvelebil, K., "More About Adverbs and Adjectives in Tamil" TCult., IX (1961), p. 289.

65 TC, 31, 32, 162, 167, 210, 219.

Neuter pl. *yā, yāvai* "what" (they)

yār and *evaṉ*

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that -*va*- of *yāvar* is dropped when it follows a rational plural noun and -*va*- is inserted between *yā*- and -*tu* of the neuter singular pronoun *yātu*, when it follows a neuter singular noun[56]. Thus the forms *yār* and *yāvatu* are respectively the alternants of *yāvar* and *yātu*.

E.g. *avar yār*? "who are they?"

atu yāvatu? "what is that?"

Tolkāppiyaṉār states the two interrogative pronouns *yātu* and *evaṉ* are generally used in questioning unknown objects[57].

E.g. *Pillai eṉṟa coṟku-p-poruḷ yātu*?
"what is the meaning of the word pillai?"

Maram eṉṟa coṟku-p-poruḷ evaṉ?
"what is the meaning of the word maram?"

Of them *yātu* may be used in sentences, where some doubts are to be cleared, regarding the particulars of an object whose general features are known.

E.g. *Ivaikaḷil nalla erutu yātu*?
"Of these which bull is the best?"

Tolkāppiyaṉār describes the predicative function of the two forms *yār* and *evaṉ* in 'Viṉaiyiyal'[58]. As predicatives, these two forms are genderless in reference (10.9).

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not make any formal reference to the interrogative roots *e*- and *yā*-. There were no interrogative

56 TE, 172.

57 TC, 31, 32.

58 TC, 210, 219.

pronouns having gender distinction with initial *e-* at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. Only the genderless *evaṉ* was in vogue (10.9). None of the modern interrogatives *evaṉ, evaḷ, evar, etu* and *evai* found a place in Tolkāppiyam. But Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to and makes use of the interrogative proclitic *e-* occurring before other free forms[59], e.g., *eppeyar, evvayiṉ, etoḷi, epporuḷ*, etc.

Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates the interrogative pronouns of different genders formed from *yā-*, though he does not refer to it as a base[60].

V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar says that *yāvaṉ, yāvaḷ* etc., may be segmented as *yā- avaṉ, yā-avaḷ*, etc., and that the initial vowel of the following word may disappear in sandhi and that thus the above forms can be arrived at. He also suggests that *yāvaṉ, yāvaḷ* etc., may be segmented as *ya-aṉ, yā-aḷ*, etc.[61] Since it is evident that these interrogative pronouns are formed by the addition of pronominal terminations to the stem *yā-* the latter way of segmentation suggested by Reddiyar seems to be more suitable.

The interrogative pronouns *yātu, yā* and *yāvai* take suitable 'cāriyais' before taking case markers (7.6, 13).

3.12. Syntactical Interrogatives

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that *-ā, -ē* and *-ō* are the three interrogatives[62]. These three enclitics serve as syntactical interrogatives and are added at the end of nouns or verbs (17.14.6).

---

[59] TE, 159, 334.
TE, 128; TC, 35, 68, etc.
[60] TC, 162, 167.
[61] Venkatarajulu Reddiyar, V., op. cit., p. 103.
[62] TE, 32.

avaṉ	*vantāṉā?*	"Did he come?"
avaṉ	*vantāṉō?*	,,
avaṉ	*vantāṉē?*	,,
avaṉā	*vantāṉ?*	"Did he come?"
avaṉō	*vantāṉ?*	,,

3.13. Indefinite Pronouns

A word which is used pronominally without reference to a specific person, object or thing is called an indefinite pronoun.

The indefinite pronouns *palla, pala, cila,* etc., are included in the list of non-rational peyar - "nouns"[63]. *Palla* is the variant of *pala*. These forms may be segmented as *pal (l)- a, pal-a, cil-a,* etc. *-a* may be identified as neuter plural marker.

These indefinite pronouns take the 'cāriyai' *-vaṟṟu-* (*-aṟṟ-*) before taking case markers (7.6).

Palar and *pallōr* are not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār, but are found used in his work[64]. *Pallōr* is the variant of *palar*. These pronouns may be segmented as *pal-a-r* and *pal (l)-ō-r*. *-a-* and *-ō-* denote third person; *-r* denotes epicene plural.

Some more words can be brought out here on the strength of some sūtras[65], e.g. *piṟaṉ, piṟaḷ, piṟar, piṟitu, piṟa, maṟṟaiyāṉ, maṟṟaiyāḷ, maṟṟaiyavai, uḷḷavai,* etc.

---

[63] TC, 168.

[64] TE, 172; TC, 3, etc.

[65] TC, 165, 170.

4 Numerals

4.0. The numerals are words indicating number or quantity and relationship as to number and quantity. Dr. A. C. Sekhar says that the numerals may be called 'definite totalizers' and forms for explaining quantity such as 'orupalam' etc., may be called definite totalizers of specialised kind[1].

Tolkāppiyaṉār includes the numerals also under 'peyar' and treats them in 'Peyariyal'. An elaborate treatment of them is undertaken by the grammarian in 'Eḻuttatikāram', when he deals with the sandhi changes.

4.1. **Part of Speech**

Since the numerals of Tamil language are used as words of reference, they can also be considered as a type of pronouns. Otto Jespersen's view seems to support the classification of numerals under pronouns for he says "Numerals are often given a separate part of speech; it would be better to treat them as a separate sub-class under pronouns, with which they have some points in common"[2]

If the functional value of the numeral is investigated, it will be evident that they are used es limiting adjectives by their very nature. The numerals function as attributes standing either before or after the substartives, they refer to, e.g. *iraṇṭu māṭu* "two oxen", *māṭu iraṇṭu* "oxen two". It may be

---

[1] Sekhar, A. C., *Evolution of Malayalam*, p. 94.

[2] Jespersen, Otto, *Philosophy of Grammar*, p. 85.

mentioned here that the usual practice of considering numerals as having the function of adjectives only when they precede the substantives; then they are considered as adjectivals. When they follow the substantives they are considered as neuter nouns (case bases). While describing the numerals of the Dravidian languages, Sten Konow says, "The numerals are partly used as adjectives and partly as nouns. The numeral nouns are treated as ordinary nouns, and are, accordingly sometimes neuter and sometimes accompanied by the termination of rational noun" [3]. Incidentally, the scholar puts the characteristics of the Tamil numerals in a nutshell here.

Thus it may be stated that like pronouns, the numerals also are a class of reference words. They are a sub-class of nouns having nominal as well as adjectival function[4]. They behave like nouns by occurring as subjects or taking case markers (2 4.4).

The numerals fall into two categories, namely the cardinals and the ordinals. Such a classification is not attempted in Tolkāppiyam.

4.2. Cardinals

The cardinal numerals have two forms, namely the free form and the bound form. Dr. Caldwell calls the former as neuter nouns of number and the latter as numeral adjectives[5]. Both the free and the bound forms of the cardinals can precede the substantives except in the case of *onṟu* "one" for which only the bound form precedes. The bound form

[3] Sten Konow, LSI, p 293.

[4] Any noun preceding another noun (in Tamil), when the context is not against it, becomes by the very fact of that order, what may be called an adjective, or a qualifying word or an attribute.

[5] Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 321

occurs in compounds and in derived nouns, e.g., *irupatu* "two ten" (twenty), *oru-v-an̲* "one man" (4.16).

The free form of each of the cardinal numerals and its bound allomorphs are enumerated and their occurrences are described here, according to the treatment of Tolkāppiyan̲ār.

4.3. *on̲ṟu* "one"

ōr- occurs before vowels, *āyiram* and words with initial *yā-*.

ōr-uyir	(TE, 437, 455)
ōr-āyiram	(TE, 465)
ōr-yān̲ai	(TE, 479)

or- occurs before *āyiram* only.

or-āyiram	(TE, 464)

oru- occurs before *paḵtu*, words denoting measures, etc., *nūṟu*, plosives and *nūṟāyiram*.

oru-paḵtu	(TE, 433, 437, 438)
oru-kalam	(TE, 446)
oru-nūṟu	(TE, 460)
oru-kal	(TE, 478)
oru-nūṟāyiram	(TE, 471)

on̲ṟu occurs as a free form.

Here it is evident that *ōr-* occurs before vowels and semi-vowels, *or-* before *āyiram* and *oru-* before consonants. It must be pointed out here that the free form *on̲ṟu* occurs only after the substantives, whilst the free forms of all other cardinals occur before or after.

4.4. *iraṇṭu* "two"

īr- occurs before vowels and *āyiram*.

īr-uyir	(TE, 437, 455)
īr āyiram	(TE, 465)

ir- occurs before *āyiram* only.

ir-āyiram	(TE, 464)

iru- occurs before *pak̲tu*, words denoting measures, etc. *nūṟu*, *nūṟāyiram* and *mā*.

iru-pak̲tu	(TE, 437-439)
iru-kalam	(TE, 446)
iru-nūṟāyiram	(TE, 471)
iru-mā	(TE, 480)

iraṇṭu occurs as a free form.

It can be noticed here that *īr-* occurs before vowels, *ir-* before *āyiram* and *iru-* before consonants.

4.5. *mūṉṟu* "three"

mū- occurs before vowels, *āyiram* and words with initial *v-*.

mū-v-ulakam	(TE, 437, 456, 457)
mū-v-āyiram	(TE, 460)
mū-vaṭṭi	(TE, 456)

mu- occurs before *pak̲tu*, words denoting measures etc., *nūṟu* and *nūṟāyiram*.

mu-p-pak̲tu	(TE, 437, 440, 441)
mu-k-kalam	(TE, 446, 447)
mu-m-mā	(TE, 480)

mu-n-nūṟu	(TE, 461)
mu-n-nūṟāyiram	(TE, 471)

mūṉṟu occurs as a free form.

In brief, it can be said that *mū-* occurs before vowels and semi-vowels and *mu-* before consonants. Before words with initial vowels, *-v-* occurs as a glide and before words with initial consonants, the initial consonant is geminated.

4.6. *nāṉku* **"four"**

nāl- occurs before vowels, *āyiram* and other words denoting measures, etc., with initial vowel.

nāl-uḻakku	(TE, 437, 453, 456, 462)
nāl-āyiram	(TE, 464, 467)
nāl-vaṭṭi	(TE, 453)

nāṟ- occurs before *paḵtu* and words denoting measures, etc., with initial plosives.

nār-paḵtu	(TE, 437, 442)
nāṟ-kalam	(TE, 446, 442)

nāṉ- occurs before *nūṟu*, *nūṟāyiram* and words denoting measures, etc., with initial nasals.

nāṉ-nūṟu	(TE, 460, 462)
nāṉ-nūṟāyiram	(TE, 471)
nāṉ-mā	(TE, 480)

nāṉku occurs as a free form.

In brevity, it can be said that *nāl-* occurs before vowels and semi-vowels, *nāṟ-* before plosives and *nāṉ* before nasals.

4.7. *aintu* "five"

ai- occurs before vowels, *āyiram* and words with initial *v-*.

ai-y-uḷakku	(TE, 437, 456)
ai-y-āyiram	(TE, 464, 468)
ai-vaṭṭi	(TE, 451, 452, 454)

aiN- occurs before *paḵtu*, words denoting measures, etc. with initial stops or nasals, *nūṟu* and *nūṟāyiram*.

aim-paḵtu	(TE, 437, 443)
aiṅ-kalam	(TE, 446, 448, 449)
aiñ-cāṭi	(,,)
ain-tūtai	(,,)
aim-palam	(,,)
ain-nāḻi	(TE, 446, 451)
aim-maṇṭai	(,,)
ain-nūṟu	(TE, 460)
ain-nūṟāyiram	(TE, 471)

aintu occurs as a free form.

N- represents the homorganic nasal of the following stop or the same nasal as the following nasal, if it is the case. It is evident that *ai-* occurs before vowels or semi-vowels and aiN- before consonants. Before words with initial vowels, *-y-* occurs as a glide.

4.8. *āṟu* "six"

āṟu- occurs before vowels.

āṟ(u) -uḷakku	(TE, 458)

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that *āṟu* occurs before vowels, but it can be noticed that *-u* of *āṟu* is dropped in sandhi.

āṟ- occurs before *āyiram* only.

āṟ-āyiram (TE, 469)

aṟu- occurs before *paḵtu*, words denoting measures, etc., *nūṟu* and *nūṟāyiram*.

aṟu-paḵtu	(TE, 437, 440)
aṟu-kalam	(TE, 440, 446)
aṟu-nūṟu	(TE, 440, 460)
aṟu-nūṟāyiram	(TE, 440, 471)

āṟu- occurs as a free form.

It may be observed here that *āṟ-* occurs before vowels and *aṟu-* before consonants.

4.9. *ēḻ* "seven"

eḻ- occurs before *āyiram* only.

eḻāyiram (TE, 389, 391)

ēḻ- occurs before *nūṟāyiram*, words denoting number with final *-ai*, *-am*, and *-pal* (*tāmarai*, *veḷḷam*, *āmpal*) and before vowels-

ēḻ-nūṟāyiram	(TE, 392)
ēḻ-āmpal	(TE, 392, 393)
ēl-akal	(TE, 394)

eḻu- occurs before words denoting measures, etc., and numerals.

eḻu-kalam	(TE, 389)
eḻu-paḵtu	(TE, 389, 390)

ēḻ occurs as a free form.

The number corresponding to seven was *ēḻ* at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, while *ēḻu* has replaced it in the later period. It may be observed that *eḻ-* occurs before vowel only, *eḻu-* before consonants only and *ēḻ* before vowels and consonants.

4.10. *eṭṭu* "eight"

eṇ- occurs before numerals, words denoting measures, etc., *nūṟu* and *nūṟāyiram.*

eṇ-paḵtu	(TE, 437, 444)
eṇ-kalam	(TE, 446, 449)
eṇ-vaṭṭi	(TE, 446, 450)
eṇ-nāḻi	(TE, 480)
eṇ-nūṟu	(TE, 460)
eṇ-nūṟāyiram	(TE, 471)

eṭṭu occurs as a free form.

It is evident from Tolkāppiyam that *eṇ-* is the only bound allomorph of *eṭṭu.*

4.11 *oṉpatu* "nine"

Oṉpatu is a compound word in which the post-bound *-patu* is really a variant of *pattu.* Here we are concerned with the pre-bound *oṉ-* and its variants (19.5).

oṉ- occurs before *-paḵtu, -patu* and *pāṉ.*

oṉ-paḵtu	(TE, 82)
oṉ-patu	(TE, 437; TC, 168)
oṉ-pāṉ	(TE, 459, 470).

toḷ- occurs before *āyiram* and *nūṟu.*

toḷ-āyiram	(TE, 463)
toḷ-nūṟu	(TE, 445)

toṇṭu Occurs as a free form.

Dr. Caldwell cites the meaning of the form *oṉ-* as "one" according to Dr. Gundert and says that accordingly, the numerals *oṉpatu* means "one before ten" or "one from ten"[6]. By way of giving various comparative evidences, Dr. Caldwell points out the difficulties involved in the above interpretation. According to him, *oṉ-* is originally represented by *toṉ-* and *toḷ-* is its variant which means "old" or "before"[7]. Thus it is evident that Dr. Caldwell rightly cousiders *oṉ*-and *toḷ-* as the bound allomorphs of *toṇṭu*. It must be pointed out here that *toṇṭu* "nine" which is derived from *toḷ-* occurs as a free form in Tolkāppiyam also[8].

The formation of the forms *toṇṇūṟu* and *toḷḷāyiram* was not rightly understood at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. Tolkāppiyaṉār describes that *toṇṇūṟu* and *toḷḷāyiram* are formed by the addition of *paḵtu* and *nūṟu* respectively with *oṉpaḵtu*[9]. Such a description does not hold good in the light of the explanations cited earlier. Pavananti also wrongly derives these numerals[10].

---

[6] Ibid., p. 347-350.

[7] *~tol- ~toḷ- ~toṉ-* "old or before."

[8] TP, ceyyuḷiyal, 100.

[9] According to Tolkāppiyam, when *oṉpatu* is combined with *paḵtu*, *t-* is inserted before *o-* of *oṉpatu*, *-ṇṇ-* is substituted for *-ṉ-*, *paḵ* is dropped, *ū* is inserted after *-ṇṇ-* and *-t-* of *paḵtu* is replaced by *-ṟ-* (TE, 445) Here no mention about the dropping of *-patu* of *oṉpatu* is made.

When *oṉpatu* is added to *nūṟu*, *t-* is inserted before *o-* of *oṉpatu*, *-ḷḷ-* is substituted for *-ṉ-*, *n-* of *nūṟu* is dropped, *ū* is replaced by *ā* followed by *ira* and *-ṟu* is replaced by *-m* (TE, 463). Thus *toṇṇūṟu* and *toḷḷāyiram* are derived in a wrong way.

[10] Naṉ., 194.

4.12. *pattu* **"ten"**

pāṉ- occurs after the bound forms of numerals.

on-pāṉ	(TE, 437, 445)
oru-pāṉ, iru-pāṉ, etc.	(TE, 199)

paṉ- occurs before *iraṇṭu.*

paṉ-iraṇṭu	(TE, 434)

paḵtu- occurs after the bound forms of numerals.

iru-paḵtu	(TE, 390, 437)

patu- occurs after the bound forms of numerals and before the numerals and other words. When *patu* occurs before numerals and other words, the '*cāriyai*' *-iṉ-* occurs in between them (7 5).

eḻu-patu	(TP, ceyyuḷiyal, 49)
oṉ-patu	(TE, 437)
pat(u)-iṉ-oṉṟu	(TE, 433)
pat(u)-iṉ-kalam	(TE, 436)
pat(u)-iṉ-āyiram	(TE, 435)

pattu occurs as a free form.

These may be briefed as that *-pāṉ, -paḵtu* and *-patu* occur after the bound forms of numerals, *paṉ-* occurs before *iraṇṭu* and *patu-* before numerals and other words.

4.13. *nūṟu* **"hundred"**

nūṟ- occurs before *āyiram.*

nūṟ-āyiram	(TE, 471)

nūṟṟ- occurs before other numerals.

nūṟṟ-oṉṟu	(TE, 472)

nūṟu occurs as a free form.

nūṟu-kalam (TE, 474)

4.14. *āyiram*- **"thousand"**

Dr. Caldwell thinks that this numeral is derived from Sanskrit 'sahasra'[11]. The different allomorphs of the numerals that occur before *āyiram* have been discussed under the different numerals.

4.15. *nūṟāyiram*- **"lakh"**

The use of the form *nūṟāyiram* to denote "lakh" was current at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. The allomorphs of the different numerals that occur before *nūṟāyiram* are discussed under different numerals.

4.16. **Nouns derived from Numerals (2.3.21**

From the treatment of numerals in two different sūtras[12] in 'Peyariyal', one dealing with the rational nouns and the other with the non-rational nouns, it is evident that Tolkāppiyaṉār classifies the numerals into two classes, namely the rational numerals and the non-rational numerals. For the rational numerals the commentators cite *oruvar, iruvar, mūvar*, etc., and for the non-rational numerals, *oṉṟu, pattu*, etc., as examples. The latter class of numerals has been already described.

The rational numerals are, here, identified as nouns derived from numerals. They are formed by the addition of personal terminations to the bound forms of numerals, e.g., *oru-v-ar, iru-v-ar, mū-v-ar*, etc.,

---

[11] Caldwell, R., op. cit, p. 354.

[12] TC, 165, 168.

4.17. A Few Special Usages

The forms *oruvaṉ* and *orutti* "one man and one woman" are not used in counting[13]. These forms do have each a suffix denoting gender and number.

The form *oruvar* "one man or one woman" is common to both the masculine and the feminine genders[14]. Thus the common word *oruvar* may be used in counting. If *oruvar* occurs as the subject, it takes the plural predicate after it[15] (2.9 2).

e.g. *oruvar vantār* "one man or one woman came"

If one wants to understand the gender denoted by the word *oruvar*, he has to determine it from the context combined with the intention of the speaker[16].

4.18. Ordinals

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not say anything about the ordinals. A few ordinals such as *mutal* "first", *iraṇṭākuvatu*- "second" *mūṉṟākuvatu*- "third" *nāṉkākuvatu* "fourth", *aintākuvatu*- "fifth" *āṟākuvatu* - "sixth", *ēḻākuvatu* - "seventh" etc., are found to occur in Tolkāppiyam[17]. *Mutal* is the special form for the first ordinal. All the other ordinals are formed by the addition of *ākuvatu* to the cardinal numbers.

The form *ākuvatu* may be segmented as *ā-ku-v-a-tu* and is really formed from the root *ā* "to become". It may be treated as a participial noun of neuter singular (5.4).

---

[13] TC, 44.

[14] TC, 191.

[15] TC, 192.

[16] TC, 193.

[17] TE, 29, 65, etc. and
TC, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81.

4.19.0. Compound Numerals

Though Tolkāppiyaṉār does not specifically make mention of numeral compounds, his treatment of compounds in 'Eccaviyal' includes them also. Many numeral compounds are found to occur in Tolkāppiyam. These compounds may be classified under qualitative compounds (19.10) and conjunctional compounds (19.11).

4.19.1. Qualitative Compounds

The numerals that are compounded to denote multiplication can be included under qualitative compounds[18] e.g.

iru-patu	2×10	"twenty"
aṟu-patu	6×10	"sixty"

Some other compounds whose prepounds are being numerals and the postpounds (19.5) nouns, also come under this kind of compounds, e.g.

oru-kalam

aṟu-cīr

4.19.2. Conjunctional Compounds

The compound numerals that are formed to denote addition may be included under the conjunctional compounds[19], e.g.

nūṟṟ-oṉṟu	"hundred and one"
patin-ēḻu	"seventeen"

Here in the prepound the flexional increment *-iṉ-* is added (7.5.2) *pat(u) -iṉ > patiṉ*.

[18] TC, 416.

[19] TC, 417.

4.20.0. **Numerals and Flexional Increments**

According to Tolkāppiyam, the flexional increments which occur after the numerals are *-an-*, *-in-*, *-ān-* and *-attu-*.

4.20.1. *-an-*

The oblique forms of the cardinals are formed by the addition of *-an-* to them. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the 'cāriyai' *-an-* is suffixed to the numeral *ēḻ* and to other numerals with the final shortened *-u* (7.13)

ēḻ-an-ai (TE, 194)

onṟu-an-ai (TE, 198, 419)

4.20.2. *-in-*

When *pattu*, *orupaḵtu*, etc., and *onpaḵtu* are followed by numerals and other words denoting measures, etc., the flexional increment *-in-* intervenes between them[20] (7.5.2).

pat(u) - in- āyiram

onpat(u) - in-kalam

Dr. A. C. Sekhar considers *-in-* as a part of the prepound of such compounds as, *patin -āyiram* and describes that, in combinations only the form *patin* occurs[21].

4.20.3. *-attu-*

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the 'cāriyai' *-attu-* occurs in between, when the numeral *āyiram*, whether alone or with a

---

[20] TE, 433, 435, 436, 459, 470, 475-477.

[21] Sekhar, A. C., op. cit., p. 98.

Iḷampūraṇar says that the flexional increment *-iṟṟu-* may also intervene in the compounds having *pattu* as prepound and any other numeral as postpound (19.5).

(*pattu*) *pat-iṟṟ-āyiram*

pat-iṟṟ-onṟu

preceding numeral attribute, is immediately followed by another numeral (7.7.2).

āyira-tt-o<u>n</u><u>r</u>u (TE, 317)

pati<u>n</u>āyira-tt-o<u>n</u><u>r</u>u (TE, 318)

4.20.4. -*ā<u>n</u>*-

Tolkāppiya<u>n</u>ār describes the occurrence of the 'cāriyai' -*ān*- between *oru<u>p</u>a<u>k</u>tu*, etc., and case markers. The 'cāriyai' -*ā<u>n</u>*- treated here by the grammarian is really an indivisible part of -*pā<u>n</u>* which is evidently an allomorph of *pa<u>k</u>tu* (7.10).

oru-pā<u>n</u>-ai (TE, 199)

iru-pā<u>n</u>-ai („)

4.21. **Other Forms Found used**

An instance of duplicative numeral which is formed by duplicating the numeral base is found used in Tolkāppiyam[22]

ir-iraṇṭu "two-two"

Other forms found to occur in the work are *orumai* and *iraṭṭai*[23]. *Oru-mai* is formed by the addition of -*mai* to the bound form *oru*- and *iraṭṭai* is formed by the addition of -*ai* to *iraṇṭu* and by hardening the penultimate consonant of *iraṇṭu*.

oru-mai

iraṇṭu-ai

---

[22] TC, 427.

[23] TC, 44, 217 etc., and 48, etc.

5 Verbal nouns and Derivative Nouns

5.0. Introduction

Tolkāppiyaṉār makes mention of a sub-class of nouns called 'toḻiṟpeyar' - "verbal nouns"[1] in his work. Though structurally these nouns are formed of, or formed from verbal roots, their function is the same as of nouns. Like all other nouns, they occur as subjects and are capable of taking case markers (2.1).

The classification of parts of speech, in Tamil, can be made only to a certain extent at the morphological level, as there are a good number of forms which possess both the nominal and verbal functions. On investigation, it can be understood that many of the forms which will be discussed in the following pages (5.1-8) are veritable verbs in form. But at the syntactical level where their function is explicitly seen, one can find in them the nominal characteristic feature of functioning as subjects or taking case makers and hence may not hesitate to group them under the nouns, as a sub-class. It will be evident from the following study that the part of speech to which many of the verbal nouns belong can be decided only at the syntactical level.

5.1. Different Types of Verbal Nouns

Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to 'toḻiṟpeyar' "verbal nouns" in different places in his work. All those verbal nouns sporadi-

---

[1] TE, 296, 298, 306, 309, 327, 345, 376, 401, 403.
TC, 70, 133, 139, 146, 165, 168.

cally referred to, may be divided into three classes mainly from the point of view of their internal structural differences. A type of 'toḻirpeyar' which is discussed in Eḻuttatikāram while dealing with sandhi changes, is formed of verbal roots only. Another type, which is referred to while defining nouns (2.1), is formed from verbal roots by the addition of certain suffixes. The third one is formed from verbal roots and is conjugated for tense, person, and number-gender, like the finite verbs. Much importance is given to internal structure to distinguish clearly the three classes of verbal nouns and the sub-classes are grouped under a particular class on the basis of their similarity in external distribution.

The three structural classes of verbal nouns are summed up here:

I Verbal roots occurring as nouns
e.g. *uriñ*, *porun*, *maṉ*, etc.

II Verbal roots plus suffixes occurring as nouns
e.g. *ceytal*, *uṇṭal*, *aruḷal*, etc.

III Finite verbs occurring as nouns
e.g. *uyarntōn*, *ceytāṉ*, *ākuvatu*, etc.

There is a sub-class of nouns, which is formed from verbal roots by the addition of certain nominalising suffixes, identical with the verbal nouns of class two in internal structure. They are set apart under a separate head, namely "derivative nouns" (5.9).

5.2. Verbal Noun Class I

Tolkāppiyaṉār speaks of the first class of verbal nouns in Eḻuttatikāram[2]. These verbal nouns are structurally the same as the verbal roots (or stems). Some verbal stems without the

[2] TE, 296, 298, 306, 309, 327, 345, 376, 401, 403.

addition of any formative or suffix form themselves into nouns and occur in the subject-slots.

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the verbal roots with the final consonants *-ñ*, *-ṇ*, *-n*, *-m*, *-l* and *-ḷ* can occur as nouns[8], e.g. *uriñ*, *uṇ*, *porun*, *tirum*, *vel* and *tuḷ*.

These verbal nouns, do not denote tense but occur as subjects and are capable of taking case markers, as all other nouns. (Many of these nouns ending with the above consonants are not in current use)

e.g. *maṇṇu ñāṉṟatu*
porun-iṉ-ai
uriñ-iṉ-ai (*-ai* is case marker)

These verbal nouns can be modified by the adjectival participles (13.16), e.g., *tanta tirumu nontatu.*

It may be pointed out here that these verbal nouns may occur as prepounds (19.7) of declensional compounds, which can be only nouns.

e.g. *maṇṇu-k-kaṭumai*
cemmu-k-kaṭumai

According to Cēṉāvaraiyar, the prepounds of verb compound (19.9) belong to this class of verbal nouns, e.g. *kolyāṉai*, *ceykuṉṟu* etc.

---

[8] TE, 296, 306, 327, 376, 401.

Some scholars prefer to posit a zero after the verbal roots by way of explaining it as a verbal noun marker and of distinguishing this class of verbal nouns from the mere verbal roots. As this class of words is considered as a separate structural class, the positing of a zero is not inevitable for the description here.

Tolkāppiyaṉār points out that the verbal nouns with the final consonants *-ñ*, *-n*, *-m*, etc., may be followed by a euphonic (formative) *-u*[4], e g. *uriñu, porunu, cemmu*, etc.

Though Tolkāppiyaṉār mentions such verbal nouns, occurring only with the final consonants given above, he makes use of some others with final vowels also[5], e.g. *acai, aṭi, urai, col, icai*, etc.

5.3. Vesbal Noun Class II

By way of defining the nouns in a sūtra, Tolkāppiyaṉār says that all nouns, except a class of 'toḻiṟpeyar', do not denote tense[6]. In the said sūtra, he makes use of a phrase '*toḻilnilai-y-oṭṭum*' "words which are identical with the verbs" to refer to 'toḻiṟpeyar'. There, all the commentators unanimously state that 'toḻiṟpeyar' is of two kinds : one, which denotes tense and the other, which does not denote tense. For the former kind of 'toḻiṟpeyar' *tiṉṟān, uṇṭāṉ*, etc., and for the latter *tiṉṟal, uṇṭal*, etc., are given as examples. The examples *uṇṭal, tiṉṟal* etc., fit in with the structure of the second class of verbal nouns.

These verbal nouns are formed from the verbal roots by the addition of *-al* and *-tal* or its phonologically conditioned allomorphs *-ṭal* and *-ṟal*. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār does not explicitly describe this class of verbal nouns, a number of forms of this class are found to occur in his work.

e.g	*añcal*	(TC, 72)	*anc(u)-al*
	varal	(TE, 1)	*var-al*
	ātal	(TE, 109)	*ā-tal*

[4] See note 2.

[5] TE, 224; TC, 131, 406, 458; TE, 25.

[6] TC, 70 and its commentaries by different commentators.

niṟṟal (TE, 15) *niṟ-ṟal*

uṇṭal *uṇ-ṭal*

According to Dr. Caldwell, these suffixes are generally added, not to the crude root, but to the formed verbal theme, e.g. the verbal noun that is formed from *ir-u* is not *ir-al* but *iruttal* and sometimes they are added to the ultimate base e.g. *pō-tal, ā-tal,* etc.[7]

These verbal nouns occur as subjects and are capable of taking case markers. Generally they do not denote tense.

e.g. *pōtal naṉṟu* "Going is good"

avaṉ varutal-ai-k-kaṇṭēṉ "I saw him coming"

These verbal nouns are identical with the derivative nouns with regard to their formation. For example, *cey-kai, akal-am, koḷ-kai,* etc. These derivative nouns are not considered by Tolkāppiyaṉār or by the commentators as 'toḻiṟpeyar'. The word *'ceytal'* is a verbal noun; but *cey-kai* is a derivative noun. Both are formed from the verbal root *cey*. The former means "doing" and the latter "action". The derivative nouns have completely lost their verbal significance, though they are also formed from verbal roots. Dr. Caldwell points out that though both are formed from the verbal roots, the former is considered as verbs whereas the latter merely as nouns[8] (5.9).

One very important distinction that is observed and traced here is, that the verbal nouns of this class can be modified by the adverbial participles as other regular vebs, whereas the derivative nouns cannot be modified by the adverbial participles but only by the adjectival participles (13.16) as regular nouns.

[7] Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 543.

[8] Ibid., p. 542.

e.g. *cārntu varal* (TE, 1) (*var-al*)
uḻuta nilam (*nil-am*)

Here, the verbal noun *var-al* is modified by the adverbial participle *cārntu* but the derivative noun *nil-am* is modified by the adjectival participle *uḻuta*.

Thus it is concluded that the former, though occurs as a noun, has some characteristics of a verb, whereas the latter has completely lost the verbal significance (5.9).

5.3.1. **Verbal Noun Class II Taking Tense**

A few forms of verbal nouns, though they are conjugated for tense, do have the function of verbal nouns of class two, i.e. though they are verbal nouns of class three in form, they are, functionally, verbal nouns of class two.

The neuter verbal forms, as Dr. Caldwell considers, are used in three different significations, viz., as third person neuter of the verb, as a neuter relative-participial noun, and as a verbal-participial noun[9]. For example, *ceytatu* in the first connection means it did; in the second, that which did and the third the doing or to do. Dr. Caldwell explicitly distinguishes the verbal noun class two from the finite verbs and participial nouns (5.6) and identifies them as verbal participial nouns. Dr. Zvelebil refers to them as "conjugated nouns" and points out that they are the forms ending in *-tu* and that they do not agree with the subjects[10]. Further he cites a few examples as to show their occurrence in Caṅkam literature.

---

[9] Ibid., p. 540, 541.

[10] Zvelebil, K., "Participial and Verbal Nouns as Predicates in Early Old Tamil", TCult., VIII (1959), p. 178-85.

Evaṉ kol tōḻi aṉṉai kaṇṇiyatu? (NT, 53)
"O friend! what is the mother's thinking?"

Nām ceytatu oṉṟillai (NT, 27)
"We did nothing"

Here the nouns *aṉṉai* and *nām* are not attributes. They and the verbal nouns, *kaṇṇiyatu* and *ceytatu* are in predicative relation but they are not in agreement. Thus they differ from the finite verbs by their disagreement with the subjects. Here, it must be pointed out that the participial nouns (5.6) are not taken to occur as predicates. So, even if the verbal nouns taking tense occur as predicates they are not participial nouns (5.6).

5.4. Verbal Noun Class III

Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly points out that a class of nouns denotes tense. He identifies this class also by the term 'toliṟpeyar'[11]. Sometimes he names the verbal nouns of this class as 'viṉai' and as 'viṉaippeyar'[12]. In the present study though this class of verbal nouns is discussed under the common terminology "verbal nouns", it is specifically identified as verbal nouns class III or participial nouns[13]. It may be mentioned here that Dr. Caldwell, considering this group as a class of verbal nouns particularly identifies it as "participial nouns"[14]. A large number of participial nouns are found to occur in Tolkāppiyam. Since the distinctive present tense was not developed at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, one can find only the participial nouns of past and future tenses in Tolkāppiyam.

---

[11] TC, 70, 133, 139.

[12] TC, 146, 165, 168.

[13] The term "participial noun" is not used so as to characterize its formation but is used because the term is widely recognized and employed.

[14] Caldwell, R., op. cit., p. 540.

e.g.	*uyarntōṉ*	(TC, 447)	*uyar-nt-ō ṉ*
	parintōḷ	(TP, 41)	*pari-nt-ō-ḷ*
	uṇarnticiṉōr	(TC, 116)	*uṇarntu-icu-iṉ-ōr*
	ceytatu	(TC, 246)	*cey-t-a-tu*
	ottavai	(TE, 171)	*o-tt-a-vai*
	ākuvatu	(TC, 77)	*ā-ku-v-a-tu*
	piripavai	(TC, 50)	*piri-p-a-vai*

The participial nouns take tense markers. They occur as subjects and are capable of taking case markers. Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly points out in Viḷimarapu that this class of verbal nouns takes the vocative form of case.

e.g. (1) *uṇṭāṉ vantāṉ* "He who ate came"

(2) *vantāṉ-ai-k-kaṇṭēṉ* "(I) saw he who came"

The participial nouns are morphologically the same as the finite verbs. Tolkāppiyaṉār makes this fact clear by a phrase '*toḻilnilai-y-oṭṭum*'[15], which means, "the words which are identical with the verbs". So, it is evident that the participial nouns cannot be distinguished from the finite verbs at the morphological level. Generally the internal morpheme composition of a finite verb is stem + tense marker + person marker + number-gender marker. So it is with the participial nouns too.

e.g. *avan uṇṭāṉ* (finite verb) "He ate"
uṇ-ṭ-ā-ṉ

uṇṭāṉ (participial noun) *vantāṉ* "He who ate came"
uṇ-ṭ-ā-ṉ

The participial nouns are capable of being modified by the adverbial participles as regular verbs. Thereby, though they

---

15 TC, 70.

function as nouns, they preserve the characteristics of verbs also, e.g., *vantu ceṉṟāṉ-ai-k-kaṇṭēṉ.*

Finally it may be summed up that though the participial nouns are structurally the same as the finite verbs, at the syntactical level they are substitutable for nouns.

5.5. Formation of the Participial Nouns

Dr. Caldwell thinks that the greater number of these nouns are formed by suffixing the demonstrative pronouns, or their terminations to the present and preterite relative participles.[16] Thus according to him (*ceykiṟa-āṉ / -avaṉ > ceykiṟāṉ / ceykiṟavaṉ*) *ceyta-āṉ / -avaṉ > ceytāṉ / ceytavaṉ* is the formation of participial nouns. It must be remembered here that the present tense participial nouns had not developed at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar opines that the participial nouns are formed from the verbal participles with personal endings[17]. Both the scholars describe that the participial nouns are formed from the participles, though they differ in explaining the type of participles.

In such a description they have to account for the participle markers. It would be better if the participle markers are dispensed with in the description of their structure. From a historical point of view, their description may hold good to some extent. According to Dr. Caldwell's theory, only the past (and the present) tense participial nouns of the third person can be described. His theory fails to work in the case of first and second person participial nouns of different tenses and in the case of a number of future tense participial nouns. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar's assumption also does not hold good in the case of non-past participial nouns. So, it would be

16 Caldwell, R., op. cit , p. 540.

17 Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., "MOTV", p. 774.

better and befitting to describe that the participial nouns are formed from the verbal stems by the addition of tense markers, person markers and number-gender markers, like the finite verbs.

5.6. Participial Nouns and Finite Verbs at the Syntactical Level

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar says, "The forms with *-ōṉ*, *-ōḷ*, *-ōy*, *-ōr* are genuine participials, wherever they occur in Caṅkam texts. The grammarians describe some of them as "finite" forms; but this, I think, is due to the peculiar usage in Tamil and (in other Dravidian dialects) whereby a participial noun may be employed as a sort of predicate to complete the sense of verb-action"[18]. Dr. Zvelebil also cites a few examples with terminations *-ōṉ*, *-ōḷ*, etc., as to the predicative usage of participial nouns in Caṅkam literature[19].

eṉ mukam nōkkiyōḷē (NT, 55) "She looked at my face"

āyiḻai varuvōḷ (NT, 308) "The woman with fair jewels will come".

Tolkāppiyaṉār evidently states that *-ā-* in the verbal terminations *-āṉ*, *-āḷ*, *-ār*, *-āy* may change into *-ō-* in poetry[20]. The commentators cite the following as examples for such a change.

1. *viṉavi niṟṟantōṉē* (AN, 48) "He gave you after asking"
2. *nakūu-p-peyarntōḷē* (AN, 248) "She moved smiling"
3. *uṇṭi koṭuttōr uyir koṭuttōrē* (PN, 18) "Those who gave food gave life".

---

[18] Ibid., p. 775.

[19] Zvelebil, op. cit., p. 182.

[20] TC, 211, 212.

Many of the forms with the terminations *-ōṉ*, *-ōḷ*, etc., in the cited examples occur as predicates. Here it is a difficult problem to decide whether they are verbs or (predicative) nouns. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, they are finite verbs occurring as predicates. According to the scholars L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar and Dr. Zvelebil they are participial nouns occurrtng as predicates. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the verbal forms are nouns only when they function as nouns, i.e., when they occur as subjects or take case markers.

Thus in order to make a clear-cut distinction between the nouns and the verbs at the syntactical level, one must take all these verbal forms that fill up the predicate-slot, agreeing with the subjects,[21] as finite verbs and not as participial nouns. This really helps to avoid the overlapping of the word-classes in Tamil language.

Thus it is concluded that the participial nouns are not taken to occur as predicates and that only when the finite verbal forms occur as subjects or take case markers, they are considered as "participial nouns".

5.7. Participial Nouns Formed From the Defective Verbs.

A few forms of the participial nouns (verbal nouns class III) formed from the defective verbs[22] are found to occur in Tolkāppiyam. This type of participial nouns are formed either by modifying the defective finite verbs or by preposing some nouns to them[23], e.g., *al(l)-a-tu* (TE, 326), *uḷ(ḷ)-a-tu* (TC, 314),

[21] The finite verbal form which occurs as predicate and is not in agreement with the subject is a verbal noun of class two (5.6).

[22] There are a few defective verbs in which tense is not marked and which are formed from the stems that do not occur as imperatives (10.8).

[23] TE, 60; TP, ceyyuḷiyal, 162.

al(l)-a (TE, 483), *al(l)-an-a*, etc. (See note 26 on chapter X). e.g. *uyirmey allana moḷi mutal ākā* (TE, 60).

uḷḷa, alla (TC, 168). These participial nouns may be taken to be formed from the defective verbs *uḷa* and *ila* respectively.

A few examples from Caṅkam literature may also be cited here.

illōr (PN, 95), *uṭaiyar* (PN, 223), *uḷḷavai* (PN, 328), *allōr* (PN, 343). In all these forms the defective verbal forms have undergone slight modification in form to form themselves into nouns and mostly they are preceded by some nouns.

5.8. Other Participial Nouns

There is a different type of non-rational plural participial nouns, formed from the verbal roots, found to occur in Tolkāppiyam. In them in the place of tense marker, an unassignable sub-morphemic element* occurs.

e.g.	*ākuna*	(TE, 151)	*ā-ku-n-a*
	ceykuna	(TC, 250)	*cey-ku-n-a*
	tirina	(TE, 483)	*tiri-n-a*
	mikuna	(TE, 158)	*miku-n-a*
	varuna	(TC, 250)	*varu-n-a*

A few scholars consider the dental *-n-* which occurs in these forms, as a phoneme which might have replaced the alveolar *-ṉ*. For instance, R. Seethabai in her thesis states that the dental in the place of alveolar can be explained as dialect variation. She further assumes "ceyyun and ceyyum may... .. be pre-Tolkāppiyam singular and plural forms which

* This may be considered as a non-past tense marker denoting the habitual present tense.

later on lost such a distinction and came to be replaced by ceyyum for both singular and plural"[24].

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar considers the above forms as of a type of future or aoristic participial nouns[25]. According to his proposition, one can infer that they are formed from 'ceyyum' pattern of non-past adjectival participles by the addition of pronominal termination. *-m* might have changed into *-n-* and it seems to have lost its tense significance in course of time. A few examples from Cankam literature will glean this inference more evidently.

e.g.	*var(u)-un-a-r*	(PN, 10)	*pāṭ(u)-un-a-r*	(PN, 135)
	ī-n-a-r	(PN, 135)	*aṟi-un-a-r*	(PN, 381)

5.9 Derivative Nouns

This class of nouns is formed from the verbal stems by the addition of certain noun-forming suffixes. The words belonging to this class is not dealt with but found used by Tolkāppiyaṉār. There is no evidence in Tolkāppiyam to support for the inclusion of these nouns under 'toḻiṟpeyar'. But Dr. Caldwell considers them as a sub-class of verbal nouns. The distinction between the verbal nouns class two and these derivative nouns is already described[26] (5.3). Though the derivative nouns are true nouns and though their formation from verbal roots is not explicit, they deserve enumeration here, as all the nouns formed from the verbal roots are taken up for study in this chapter.

---

[24] Seethabai, R., 'A Study of Index of Words in Tolkāppiyam', p. 200, 201.

[25] Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., op. cit., p. 775.

[26] Caldwell, R., op. cit., p. 544.

The different nominalising suffixes of the derivative nouns are listed here and a few examples are cited as to show their occurrence in Tolkāppiyam.

1. **-ai**

aṭ(u)-ai	(TE, 110)	
tok(u)-ai	(TE, 223)	

2. **-am**

akal-am	(TC, 364)	
nil-am	(TC, 81)	

3. **-kai**

iyaṟ-kai	(TE, 15)	*iyal~iyaṟ-*
uva-kai	(TC, 305)	

4. **-cci** or **-ci**

puṇar-cci	(TE, 142)	
uṇar-cci	(TC, 393)	
kāṭ-ci	(TE, 83)	*(kāṇ~kāṭ-)*

5. **-ti**

ūr-ti	(TC, 72)	
cey-ti	(TC, 80)	

6. **-ttu**

vāḻ-ttu	(TP, 76)	

7. **-ppu** or **-pu**

icai-ppu	(TE, 53)	
iyal-pu	(TE, 268)	

8. **-mai**

icai-mai	(TE, 39)	

9. **-vi**

kiḷa-vi	(TE, 34)	

10. **-vu**

aḷa-vu	(TE, 50)	
teḷi-vu	(TC, 245)	

11. **-i**

vekuḷ-i	(TC, 72)	

6 Cases

6.0. Introduction

Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses the case markers and the ways in which the noun-stems take case markers in three different chapters of Eḻuttatikāram, namely Puṇariyal, Tokaimarapu and Urupiyal. Further he devotes three chapters in Collatikāram for the treatment of cases. They are Vēṟṟumaiyiyal, Vēṟṟumai mayaṅkiyal and Viḷimarapu. In Vēṟṟumai mayaṅkiyal, he deals with the case markers, the first seven cases and the general meanings and the different shades of meanings in which each of the cases occurs, in Vēṟṟumai mayaṅkiyal with the functional syncretism of cases (i.e., varying idiomatic usages with reference to case meanings and case markers) and in Viḷimarapu with the vocative case.

6.1. Names of the Cases

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, there are eight cases in Tamil. The first was called 'peyar vēṟṟumai' - "nominative case" or 'eḻuvāy vēṟṟumai' - "case of the subject" (subject case) and the eighth 'viḷi vēṟṟumai' - "vocative case"[1]. It is evident from Tolkāppiyam that the cases from second to seventh were named after their markers by the ancient grammarians[2] who lived before Tolkāppiyaṉār, e. g. *-ai vēṟṟumai*, *-oṭu vēṟṟumai*, *-ku vēṟṟumai*, *-iṉ vēṟṟumai*, *-atu vēṟṟumai* and *-kaṇ vēṟṟumai*. One may rightly assume that it was Tolkāppiyaṉār who, at first,

[1] TC, 63, 64, 65, 118.

[2] TC, 64, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81.

arranged and named the cases after their numbers, e. g. *onrākuvatē*, *irantākuvatē*, *mūnrākuvatē* etc[3].

It is evident from the treatment of cases by Tolkāppiyaṉār that the vocative case was not given equal status with others by the grammarians of pre-Tolkāppiyam period (6.13).

6.2. Case Markers

Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly states that *-ai*, *-oṭu*, *-ku*, *-iṉ*, *-atu* and *-kaṇ* are the six case markers[4]. The first case, according to him, has no marker and the eighth case is mainly denoted by some modifications in noun-stems themselves.

In Vēṟṟumai mayaṅkiyal, Tolkāppiyaṉār records *-āṉ* as a case marker without assigning it to any case[5]. It is interesting to note that Tolkāppiyaṉār makes use of the marker *-ōṭu* also, but he does not refer to it in his work[6].

All the commentators add *-a* as a sixth case plural marker. Naccinārkkiṉiyar adds *-ātu* also to the sixth case[7]. Teyvac-cilaiyār and Naccinārkkiṉiyar add *-āl* to the third case[8]. These additions are due to the outcome of the later developments in the language.

6.3. Nouns and Case Markers

The nouns, in Tamil, are characterized by their capability of taking case markers (2.1). The case markers occur after the

---

[3] TC, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81

[4] TE, 113., TC, 64.

[5] TC, 97, 108.

[6] TE, 10, 17, 65 etc. This form *-ōṭu* might have come into existence due to variation in readings.

[7] Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 80.

[8] Nac., op. cit., 74.
Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 71.

nouns (i.e., they are suffixed directly to the nouns or to the 'cāriyais' (7.2), which may intervene between the nouns and the case markers. e.g.

1. *aracaṉ-ai* (without cāriyai)
2. *mara-tt-ai* (with cāriyai)

The case marking suffixes are easily separable and distinguishable from the noun-stems. Cēṉāvaraiyar says that the case markers do not form part and parcel of nouns as verbal terminations are of verbs[9]. It is apparent that they do possess a significant entity, though they do not occur in isolation.

Usually the nouns do not undergo any modification in form while taking case markers. But in the case of non-ratioal nouns 'cāriyais' may be added to the nouns (7.4) and in the case of the personal pronouns the included vowel is shortened in the oblique forms (3.3, 5, 7).

6.4. Characteristics of Case Markers

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the case markers are 'iṭaiccols'[10]. They are bound morphemes and, hence, they do not occur in isolation.

Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly points out that the case markers do not undergo any modification in form even when they are suffixed to nouns, e.g. *avaṉ-ai.* In Tamil the case markers do not change with regard to gender and number but remain the same for all the genders and numbers.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the case markers have the same meaning even when they are followed by (i.e., they are governed by) the negative verbs[11].

---

[9] Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 69.

[10] TC, 249, 250.

[11] TC, 107.

e.g. *yāḻoṭum koḷḷā* (PN, 92) "They cannot be in harmony with the sound produced by *yāḻ*"

The elision of case markers in sentences is sanctioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār[12].

e.g. *avaṉ nilam kaṭantāṉ* "He crossed the land"

Further he specifically points out that only the second case marker *-ai* and the seventh case marker *-kaṇ* may be elided at the end of a sentence[13].

e.g. *yām ēttukam palave (palavaṟṟai)* (PN, 10)
"We shall extol (of your qualities)"

Nalla illa ākupa .... akaṉṟalai nāṭē (nāṭṭiṉkaṇ)
"Let the good become extinct in the wide land"

6.5. Different shades of Meanings of Cases and the Patterns of Constructions in which the Cases occur.

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not make a clear-cut distinction between morphology and syntax in his work. With regard to cases also, he speaks of matters that are relevant to morphology and syntax intermixedly.

He discusses the different shades of meanings of each of the cases in separate sūtras which are preceded by the sūtras that deal with the general meanings of each case. While dealing with the different shades of meanings, he often enumerates the constructional patterns in which each of the case markers occurs, i.e., most of the syntactical constructions themselves are given as formulae to specify the different shades of meanings in which each case marker occurs. Teyvaccilaiyār rightly thinks that Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates different 'vāypāṭu'

12 TC, 105.

13 Ditto.

formulae (syntactical constructions) to show the usages of cases[14].

It is evident from a close study of cases in Tolkāppiyam that all the contexts in which a certain case marker can occur, are, on the whole, confined to the range of the concerned case-meanings. Yet, there is some exception with regared to the use of fourth case marker, which will be discussed in the course of this study.

In Vēṟṟumai mayaṅkiyal, Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses the contexts in which one case marker can be substituted for another, i.e., the kind of constructions in which some case markers occur in free variation (6.14.1).

6.6. Nominative Case

The first case, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār is the nominative case. It is identified by two different terminologies in Tolkāppiyam: 1. peyar vēṟṟumai, 2. eḻuvāy vēṟṟumai. Tolkāppiaṉār considers 'peyar' "noun" as the form of the nominative case[15].

The noun without any modification or addition in form constitutes the nominative case. The two different names themselves suggest that the nominative case can be approached from two different view-points viz., 1. morphological approach, and 2. syntactical approach.

6.6.1. Morphological Approach

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, a noun-stem appearing as a free form is a nominative. The nominative is not provided with a case marker. There is not even any indication for the

[14] Tey., op. cit. 71.

[15] TC, 64, 65.

existence of a marker for the nominative. Dr. Caldwell and Dr. Varadarajaṉār rightly refute the supposed view that *-am* is the marker for the nominative case[16].

Cēṉāvaraiyar says that the nominative case is included in the "vēṟṟumai", since it differentiates itself from the other cases, accusative case, etc.[17] From this one can infer that the absence of an overt marker distinguishes the nominative from other cases. Prof. S. Ilakkuvaṉār and Dr. Zvelebil describe the nominative case by positing a zero as its marker[18], e.g. *ā-ϕ vantatu* "The cow came". The nominative case is never marked overtly. Structurally, this is a type of significant absence; it is not, however, an allomorphic zero, but, rather, a morphemic zero. That is to say, this significant absence does not occur in a series of allomorphs, but in a series of morphemes. This zero is also structurally and descriptively pertinent[19].

However, the use of morphemic zero is not much preferred by the modern linguists. In Tamil the nominative case can be better described syntactically without any difficulty.

6.6.2. Syntactical Approach

The very name 'eḻuvāy vēṟṟumai' "subject case" suggests that the nominative case is based on syntax rather than on morphology. Tolkāppiyaṉār in addition to giving the form of the nominative case tries to define it more or less syntactically by

---

16 Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 255-258.
Varadarajaṉār, M. *Moḻinūl,* p. 146-148.

17 Cēṉā., op. cit., 62.

18 Ilakkuvaṉār, S., 'Semantemes and Morphemes', p. 22.
Zvelebil, K., *Lectures on Historical Grammar of Tamil,* p. 15.

19 Nida, Eugene, *Morphology*, p. 46.

giving the types of predicates which it takes (the environments or the slots in which it occurs)[20].

Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly states that the nominative case is used to denote the subject of an action[21]. Teyvaccilaiyār says that the nominative case is included under 'vēṟṟumai' "case", since the object denoted by the noun is made the subject of the action denoted by the verb[22]. Henry Sweet also rightly points out that the nominative is the subject case and its function is .. to mark the subject of a sentence[23].

Thus it may be concluded that what occurs as a subject (what fills up the subject-slot) is in the nominative case, e.g. *ā vantatu* "The cow came".

With a view to make it more clear, i.e., that the subjects cannot exist without predicates, Tolkāppiyaṉār, immediately proceeds to enumerate the types of predicates which the subjects take[24]. They are: 1) verbs denoting existence of things, e.g. *ā uṇṭu*, 2) optative verbs, e.g. *aracaṉ vāḻka*, 3) verbs expressing the action in the past, present and future, e.g. *ā vantatu*, 4) interrogative words, e.g. *avaṉ yār ?* 5) words denoting quality, e.g. *avaṉ kariyaṉ* and 6) noun, e.g. *avaṉ aracaṉ*. The former three types of predicates are real verbs and the remaining types are nouns. It may be pointed out here that in Tamil not only verbs but also nouns occur as predicates. It must be remembered that nouns alone can occur as subjects (2.1 ; 5.6).

---

20 TC, 66.

21 TC, 65.

22 Tey., op cit., 62.

23 Sweet, Henry, *A New English Grammar*, p. 49.

24 TC. 66.

The enumeration of different types of predicates reveals the fact that nouns which have the same syntactical privileges of occurrence as subjeets are in the nominative case. Tolkāppiyaṉār points out in the next sūtra that (not only nouns but also) compounds which have the same privilege of occurrence can occur as subjects in the nominative case[25] (19.14).

6.7. Accusative Case

The second case, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, is the accusative case. The second case marker is suffixed to the nouns which occur as direct objects of the verbs or 'kuṟippu'"[26]. Here 'kuṟippu' refers to the defective verbs only (10.8). That is to say, the nouns which take the second case marker, are the objects of the action. Cēṉāvaraiyar vividly points out that the second case marker is suffixed to the nouns which are objects of transitive verbs[27].

The marker of this case is *-ai*. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the use of this marker is obligatory with the rational nouns and common nouns (2.5) and is optional with the non-rational nouns[28].

e.g. *avaṉ aracaṉ-ai-k kaṇṭāṉ* "He saw the king"

avaṉ maram kuṟaittāṉ "He shortened the tree"

In the second example, after the word '*maram*' "tree" there is a significant absense of an accusative marker. We may describe such a significant absence as "zero", e.g. *maram*-ϕ·

---

[25] TC, 67.

[26] TC, 71.

[27] Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 71.

[28] TE, 157.

Here, since the significant absence is in allomorphic series, it may be called an allomorphic zero[29].

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that in poetry *-a* may be appended to *-ai*, when it is suffixed to the rational nouns only[30]. The commentators interpret it as *-ai* changing into *-a* and not *-ai+a*, e.g. *kāvalōṉ-a-k kaḷirañcumē*. No instance for *-ai* > *-a* is found in Tolkāppiyam.

Tolkāppiyaṉār devotes a separate sūtra to deal with different shades of meaning in which the second case occurs[31]. The accusative case denotes the direct objects which exist as things that are protected, compared, used as vehicle, made, scared away, praised, despised, acquired, lost, loved, scorned, destroyed, appreciated, learned, cut, decreased, gathered, separated, weighed, measured, counted, improved in condition, depended upon, reached, detested, seen, feared, shattered, etc.

e.g.	*ūr-ai-kkākkum*	"protects the village (he)" (thing that is protected)
	tāy-ai okkum	"resembles mother (she)" (thing that is compared)

6.8. **Instrumental Case**

The third case, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, is the instrumental case. The third case marker is suffixed to the agent or instrument of an action[32]. This case is called instrumental because the things denoted by the nouns which take the third case marker, serve as instruments for the action.

---

[29] Nida, Eugene, op. cit., p. 46.

[30] TC, 108, 109.

[31] TC, 71.

[32] TC, 73.

The marker which is assigned for the third case is *-oṭu*. In Vēṟṟumai mayaṅkiyal, Tolkāppiyaṉār mentions *-āṉ* as a case marker, but does not assign it to any case[83]. The commentators consider it as a third case marker and cite examples to establish their view. Since it is mentioned with the markers of the preceding and the following cases (second and fourth cases), one can confirm that *-āṉ* was used as the third case marker, at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. The author uses *-ōṭu* as an alternant of *-oṭu* in his work, but does not refer to it.

He says that in poetry *-a* may be appended to *-āṉ*,[84] e.g. *purai tīr kēḷvip pulavar-āṉa (-āṉ > -āṉa).*

In ancient literature *-āṉ* is used with the locative signification in a number of instances. Even in Tolkāppiyam, such a usage is frequently found (TE, 83, 295; TC, 51, 110, etc.). In all the locatival usages it means "that place". Therefore, it may be assumed that originally *-āṉ* might have been a locative case marker and that only at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār it became an instrumental case marker. Here, it must be remembered that the so-colled 'cāriyai' *-āṉ-* also occurs with the locative force (7.10). Instances for the use of *-āṉ* as an instrumental case marker are also found in Tolkāppiyam (TC, 117, 232, 233, etc.). As an instrumental case marker, it means "in this way" or "because of"

There occurs a phrase *'iṉṉāṉ ētu'* in the sūtra, which deals with the different shades of meaninng of the third case[85]. Iḷampūraṇar interprets it as denoting two different shades of meanings, i.e. *'iṉṉāṉ* "he is of this nature" and *'ētu'*

---

[83] TC, 97, 108.

[84] TC, 108.

[85] TC, 74.

"cause"[36]. Cēṉāvaraiyar interprets it in a different way. He takes *iṉṉāṉ* as a conjunctive compound consisting of two case markers, namely *-iṉ* and *-āṉ*. According to him, '*ētu*' "cause" is the significance with which these markers may occur[37]. Naccinārkkiṉiyar agrees with Cēṉāvaraiyar. Teyvaccilaiyār divides the phrase '*iṉṉāṉētu*' into *iṉ-āṉ-ētu* and considers it as a combination of three case markers[38]. Since the sūtra, from which this phrase is taken, is concerned with the different shades of meanings of the case and not with the case markers, Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation seems to be sound and logical.

The marker *-oṭu*, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, should occur with the noun which is comparatively of greater importance[39]. Teyvaccilaiyār ventures to interpret that *-oṭu* is suffixed to the noun which is inferior to the other[40]. The restriction either according to the rule of Tolkāppiyaṉār or according to the interpretation of Teyvaccilaiyār is not strictly followed in literature. From usages, it may be better to conclude that *-oṭu* appears with any noun without any reference to superiority or inferiority.

Tolkāppiyaṉār uses *-oṭu* with the significance of comparison also (TE, 79, 80, 346, 480, etc.).

6.8.1. Instrumental and Sociative meanings

Though the sociative meaning has been existing in Tamil from the very early days, Tolkāppiyaṉār does not give an

[36] Iḷa., *A Commentary on* TC, 73.

[37] Cēṉā., op. cit., 74.

[38] Tey., op. cit., 71.

[39] TC, 91.

[40] Tey., op. cit., 87.

independent status to it in the system of cases in Tamil. He includes the sociative meaning under the instrumental case.

Unlike in modern times, at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār *-oṭu* and *-āṉ* were in free variation. Both the markers were used in both the instrumental and sociative meanings, by way of proving which the commentators cite examples as the following.

1. *nīr-oṭu niṟainta kaṇ* (PN, 164) "Eyes filled with tears"

2. *tūṅku kai-y-āṉ ōṅku naṭaiya* (PN, 22) "Those having majestic gaits with their waving hands"

In the first example *-oṭu* is used in the instrumental meaning and in the second example *-āṉ* is used in the sociative meaning. Dr. P. S. Sastri also opines that the markers *-ōṭu* and *-āṉ* were used in free variation at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār[41].

A number of examples cited by the commentators give a clue that a distinction between the instrumental meaning and the sociative was recognized during their time They use *-oṭu* mainly for the sociative meaning and *-āṉ* for the instrumental meaning. Thus it may be inferred that at a later period *-oṭu* began to be restricted to the sociative meaning and *-āṉ* to the instrumental meaning. Cēṉāvaraiyar's opinion that the marker *-oṭu* is rarely used to denote instrument or agent in his time[42] further confirms the above proposition. But it must be pointed out here, that at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār at least *-ōṭu* must have occupied a predominant position and that case marker itself had both the sociative and instrumental meanings.

---

[41] Sastri, P. S., *Collatikārak-kuṟippu*, p. 90.

[42] Cēṉā , op. cit., 73.

Cēṉāvaraiyar anticipates an objection for considering *-oṭu* and *-āṉ* as markers of one and the same case and very well answers to it. He says that both of them are used in all the meanings and that in Sanskrit also different markers are taken to belong to one case, if they have the same meaning.[43]

Only at a later period the markers *-oṭu* and *-āṉ* have developed a contrast between them and have been used in the sociative meaning : the instrumental meaning : : *-oṭu* : *-āṉ*. Taking into consideration of the later-day usages, Dr. Caldwell things that the Tamil grammarians have caused violence to the genius of the grammar by arranging the case in the Sanskrit order. He remarks "................ the conjunctive case, though it takes an important position in the Dravidian languages, has been omitted in each dialect from the list of cases, or added on to the instrumental case, simply because Sanskrit knows nothing of it as separate from the instrumental. The conjunctive, or social, stands in greater need of a place of its own in the list of cases in these languages than in Sanskrit, seeing that in these it has several case-signs of its own, whilst in Sanskrit it has none"[44]. These views of Dr. Caldwell are acceptable as far as later and modern usages are concerned.

In a separate sūtra, Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses the different shades of meanings of the third case by enumerating the varieties of meaningful constructional patterns in which its marker occurs[45]. According to him, the instrumental case denotes the object that stands as the material cause, the object that serves as an appropriate cause, the agent of an action, the object that is responsible for one's present state, the object of exchange, the object that is mixed with another, the object in

[43] Ibid, 74.

[44] Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 277, 278.

[45] TC, 74.

company with another doing the same action, the object in company with another incapable of doing the same action, the object of unsuitable comparison, the object of particular description of one's nature and cause, etc.

e.g. *poṉṉ-āṉ iyaṉṟa paṭṭam* (PN, 3, Commentary)
"Frontlet (of an elephant) made of gold"
(the object that stands as the material cause)

kaḷaviṉ-āṉ ākiya ākkam "property made through theft"
(the object that is responsible for one's present state)

6.9. Dative Case

The fourth case, according to Tolkāppiaṉār, denotes anything which is a recipient[46]. Thus it is evident that the fourth case marker is suffixed to the nouns denoting recipient.

The fourth case marker is *-ku*. But one can find *-kku* occurring as an alternant of *-ku*, after the vowels[47], semi-vowels and *-r*, e.g. *araci-kku, nāy-kku, porunar-kku*, etc. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that in poetry *-a* may be appended to *-ku* when suffixed to the rational nouns. According to him[48] *-ku+a* becomes *-ka*, e.g. *āciriyar-kka* (TE, 389).

---

[46] TC, 75.

[47] The personal pronouns take the flexional increment *-a-* before the fourth case marker *-ku* (*-kku*). This is stated as a rule in the case of all personal pronouns which get their long vowel shortened in the oblique from (TE, 160, 161), e.g. *taṉ-a-kku* (TP, 120) *tam-a-kku* (TC, 249).

[48] TC, 108, 109.

[49] Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 279 ff.

6 9.1. Is Fourth Case a Dative Case?

Dr. Caldwell calls the fourth case as dative case[49]. But anyone will admit that to restrict its signification to the dative is partial or incomplete, since some of the shades of meanings enumerated by Tolkāppiyaṉār for the fourth case cannot be discussed under "dative". "Dative" may not, therefore be a correct name for the fourth case as far as old Tamil usages are concerned, though, here, for the purpose of convenience, the same title is given.

There is a phrase *'epporuḷayiṉum koḷḷum atuvē'* in the sūtra dealing with the marker and general meaning of the fourth case. Many of the commentators interpret this as "recipient, whatever substance it may be". But only Cēṉāvaraiyar interprets it as "it may take on any meaning". From this it is evident that Cēṉāvaraiyar recognizes the fact that the fourth case marker may occur in different meanings.

A careful study of the different shades of meanings of the fourth case enumerated by Tolkāppiyaṉār will reveal the fact that the fourth case is of varied significations, such as purpose, direction, limit, relation, etc.

e.g.	*vaḷai-kku-p-poṉ vāṅku*	(purpose)
	cāttaṟ-ku-c-cōṟu	(recipient)
	karumpiṟ-ku vēli	(limit)
	pāri-kku naṇpaṉ	(relation)

The marker *-ku* has locative and genitive significations also. *-ku-* (*-ikku*) is considered as a 'cāriyai' or flexional increment (7.12) by Tolkāppiyaṉār; but in all those instances it has the locative significance. Though this locative significance of the marker *-ku* is recognized elsewhere in Tolkāppiyam (TC, 110), in actual occurrences of *-ku* with the said significance,

it is treated as a 'cāriyai'[50]. It must be pointed out here that such a usage still rarely persists in modern Tamil in nouns denoting time, e.g. *nāḷaikku*, *iṉṟaikku*, *etc*.

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the fourth case marker *-ku* (~ *-kku*) is suffixed to the nouns denoting the object for which an action is done, the object to which one subjects himself, the object to which another is apportioned, the object of transformation, the object which is suited to another, the aim of an action, the object of friendship, enmity, love, superiority, etc.[51]

e.g. *piṇi-kku maruntu piṟa* (TK, 1102) "Others serve as medicine to diseases"
(the object for which an action is done)

keṭṭār-kku naṭṭār il (TK, 1293) "There are no friends to bad men" (love)

6.10. **Ablative Case**

In modern Tamil, the fifth case is usually called the ablative case of motion. But the usages in Tolkāppiyam and in Caṅkam literature emphasise it as a case of comparison Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the fifth case denotes the nature of an object in its relation to another[52].

The marker for the fifth case is *-iṉ*. All the commentators, except Teyvaccilayār, say that it denotes comparison, separation, boundary and cause. According to them, comparison includes contrast also. Examples may be cited here for these significances of fifth case.

---

[50] Israel, M., "Ikku Eṉpatu Oru Cāriyai Ākumā?" *TM*, I (1963). p. 50-54.

[51] TC, 76.

[52] TC, 77.

1. **Comparison** (*poru*)

   i. *poru* of similarity

   kuḻavi koḷpavar-iṉ ōmpumati (PN, 5)
   "Protect like those who tend children"

   ii. *poru* of contrast

   naṉmai kaṭal-in peritu (TK, 103)
   "The good deeds are bigger than sea"

2. **separation** (*nīkkam*)

   niṉṉ-iṉ viṭā niḻaṟ pōl (KT, 61) "Like the shadow which is never separated from you"

3. **boundary** (*ellai*)

   kumariy-iṉ teṟku (PN, 6) "That which is south of Cape Comorin"

4. **cause** (*ētu*)

   aru-viṭar-c ciṟu-neṟi y-ēṟal-iṉ varunti (PN, 135)
   "Having suffered on account of the ascent through the narrow path of the steep valley"

In Tolkāypiyam, the case marker *-iṉ* occurs with the significance of comparison (TE, 40; TC, 229), motion (TC, 48; TP, 32, etc.) and reason (TE, 50, 84, 101. etc.).

It may be assumed that at first *-iṉ* might have been used as a case marker of comparison; later as that of contrast and then only as a marker of other meanings also.

Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates a number of phrase formulae in which the fifth case marker can occur denoting different shades of meanings[58]. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the fifth case is employed in connection with the denotation of colour, shape, measure, taste, coolness, hotness, fear, goodness, badness,

58. TC, 78.

smallness, largeness, hardness, softness, ferocity, agedness, youth, superiority, inferiority, newness, oldness, source, absence, presence, small, separation, many-ness, few-ness, absence of attachment, etc.

e.g. *itan in vaṭṭam atu* "It is more round than this" (shape)

kaḷḷar-in añcum "He is afraid of thieves" (fear)

6.11. Genitive Case

The sixth case, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, is the genitive case and it denotes the relation between an object and its internal parts (inseparable elements) or between one object and another[54].

The sixth case marker, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, is *-atu* only. The commentators add *-a* also to the sixth case as plural genitive marker and cite the examples like *Cāttaṉa yāṉaikaḷ* "Cattan's elephants". Naccinārkkiṉiyar considers *-ātu* also as sixth case marker. Tolkāppiyaṉār neither mentions nor makes use of the latter two.

The 'kiḻamai' "relation" denoted by the genitive case is of two kinds: (1) 'taṟkiḻamai' - "inseparable relation (or organic or internal relation) as of an object with its parts, qualities, action, etc.," e.g. *Cāttaṉ-atu kai* "Cattan's hand" (2) piṟitiṉ kiḻamai - "the separable relation as between a master and his servant, a lord and his property, etc.," e.g. *Cāttaṉ-atu vīṭu* "Cattan's house".

In Tamil, very often the case marker is not used, but the noun itself or its flexional base is sufficient to express the

[54] TC, 79.

genitive, e.g. *aracan makan* "king's son", *en makan* "my son", etc.

Dr. Caldwell considers *-in* as one of the genitive case markers[55]. *-in* occurs between words that stand to each other in genitive relationship. Traditionally it is regarded as a 'cāriyai'. The genitive signification of the 'cāriyai' *-in-* is described elsewhere (7.5).

The 'cāriyais' *-attu-* and *-an-* also have the genitive force in certain instances (7.7, 13).

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the sixth case marker occurs in the constructions[56] denoting one's nature, possession, relationship, connection, action, advanced state, effort, instrument, association, document, capital, limb, collection, composition, state residence, and other things, which come under the category of the species of relation.

e.g. *Cāttaṉ-atu iyaṟkai* "Cattan's nature" (nature)
āviṉ-atu kaṉṟu "cow's calf" (relationship)

6.12. Locative Case

The seventh case, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, is the locative case and its marker is suffixed to the nouns denoting the place, locality or time of action[57].

Tolkāppiyaṉār gives *-kaṇ* as the seventh case marker in the sūtra dealing with the general meaning of the seventh case. Jules Bloch thinks that *-kaṇ* may be analysed into *ku-aṇ*;[58] *aṇ-* "in the midst of".

---

[55] Caldwell, R., op. cit., p. 291 ff.

[56] TC, 80.

[57] TC, 81.

[58] Bloch, Jules, GSD, p. 21.

Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates a list of nineteen words or post-positions which are frequently used to express the locative significations, in a separate sūtra. According to Iḷampūraṇar those that are mentioned in that sūtra are merely case markers[59]. Cēṉāvaraiyar considers them as independent words, giving the different shades of meaning of the locative case[60]. Naccinārkkiṉiyar takes them as seventh case markers[61]. Teyvaccilaiyār and Kallāṭaṉār agree that the words enumerated in the sūtra behave like nouns in certain environments and as case markers in others[62].

The nineteen words or postpositions are *kaṇ, kāl, puṟam, akam, uḷ, uḷai, kīḻ, mēl, piṉ, cār, ayal, puṭai, tēvakai, muṉ, talai, iṭai, kaṭai, valam* and *iṭam*[63].

Many of these forms are full-fledged words, i.e., nouns and are not pure case markers. The following arguments will elucidate this fact further.

1. If these are case markers, *kaṇ* which is mentioned in the previous sūtra need not be repeated along with the other eighteen words.

2. 'Tēvakai' one of the nineteen forms is not employed as a case marker anywhere in the language and hence it cannot but be taken to denote a shade of meaning of the locative case.

3. For the occurrence of *puṟam* as a case marker, Iḷampūraṇar cites the examples like '*ūrpuṟattu iruntāṉ*' - "He

[59] Iḷa., op cit., 77.

[60] Cēṉā., op. cit., 82.

[61] Nac., op. cit., 83.

[62] Tey., op. cit., 79.

[63] TC, 82.

stayed out of the village"[64]. Here the 'cāriyai' *-ttu* (*-attu*; 7.7) is suffixed to *puṟam* (*puṟa-ttu*). The 'cāriyai' can be suffixed only to nouns, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār. Thus, since some of the words which are considered as case markers by Iḷampūraṇar and others take 'cāriyai' after them, they cannot be treated as regular case markers.

4. From the first case onwards, every case is described in one sūtra along with its marker and its general meaning whilst in the next one which immediately follows, its different shades of meaning or the varieties of meaningful constructions in which its marker occurs, are enumerated. Thus the pattern or scheme of the sūtras explaining the different cases all along proves the fact that Tolkāppiyaṉār intends to enumerate the different shades of meaning of the locative case in the sūtra which lists the above mentioned nineteen words.

5. Though in the present study *-āṉ* is assigned to the third case in addition to the marker *-oṭu*, it is evident from a deep study of cases in Tolkāppiyam, that the scheme of Tolkāppiyaṉār is to give one marker for one case.

Many of the words which he enumerates as denoting the meaning of locative case behave as case markers, though they are independent words.

e.g. *il-uḷ iruntāṉ* "He was within the house"

aracaṉ-uḷai iruntāṉ "He was near the king"

Thus one can assume that Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates these nineteen forms mainly aiming at the description of the different shades of meaning of the locative case and that most of these forms incidentally function as locative markers also. When these independent words function as case markers, they

[64] Iḷa., op. cit., 77.

may, according to terminology of C. F. Hockett, be identified as impure markers.[65]

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the locative case denotes front part near the top or centre, lower portion, outside portion, inside portion, interior part, nearness, bottom, top, backside, neighbouring part, exterior part, the different directions, place in front, middle, end, beginning, right, left, etc.

6.13. Vocative Case

The eighth case, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, is the vocative case[66].

It is evident from the way in which Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates the total number of cases in Tamil, that the vocative case was not given equal status with other casses by the scholars who lived before him. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that according to those scholars, there are seven cases.[67] In the immediately following sūtra, he says that cases are eight in number, including the vocative case[68]. All the commentators point out that 'viḷi' "vocative" is not as important as the other cases, since it was not accepted as a separate case by the predecessors of Tolkāppiyaṉār. Dr. P. S. Sastri opines that the vocative case is not included under the seven cases, since it does not directly denote any relation of the noun to the verb which follows it.[69]. One more reason, which may be attributed to it is that there are some nouns, in Tamil, which do not take the vocative from while all nouns take all other case forms.

---

65 Hockett, C. F., *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 192. 197, 214.

66 TC, 62, 63.

67 TC, 62.

68 TC, 63.

69 Sastri., P. S., *A Commentary on TC*, 62.

However, Tolkāppiyaṉār not only recognizes it as a separate case but also devotes one whole chapter which is fairly long (containing thirty seven sūtras) for the treatment of vocative case and its formations. This chapter called 'Viḷimarapu' seems to be Tolkāppiyaṉār's own contribution and hence it is difficult to believe that he minimised the importance of 'viḷi vēṟṟumai' "the vocative case".

There is no proper marker for the vocative case. The vocatives can be divided into proximate vocatives and remote vocatives. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār does not attempt such a classification, he indicates the different kinds of vocatives in the course of his discussions on the formation of vocatives[70]. Mostly the unchanged nouns themselves occur in the proximate vocatives. A few nouns in the proximate vocatives and almost all nouns in the remote vocatives undergo some modification, i.e , addition, subtraction or replacement.

e.g.	*nampi*	*nampi-ϕ*	(proximate vocative)
	aṉṉai	*aṉṉāy*	(remote vocative)

With regard to the formation of the vocative case of nouns, a few important factors must be borne in mind. They are : (1) Unlike in other case formations, in the vocative case mostly the nouns themselves suffer some change while taking the vocative form. (2) The vocative case-forms are, by virtue of their usage, nouns of the second person. So, one can identify most of the terminal suffixes of the nouns in the vacative case, with those of the second person. This factor can be confirmed by the statements like that *-ār* and *-ar* change into *-ir* (TC, 138). (3) The purpose of the vocatives is to draw the attention of the persons addressed to, which

[70] Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the proximate vocatives in a few sūtras, TC, 127, 131.

is done by raising and lengthening the voice[71]. Thus the remote vocatives have to take a long vowel phoneme, whether in the ultimate or penultimate position. (4) When the nouns in the vocative case are pronounced aloud, some difference in stress or intonation can be perceived. But no attempt is made here to trace and identify these differences.

6.13 1. Nouns That do not Take the Vocative Form

The use of the phrase *'koḷḷum peyaroṭu'* "with nouns that take (vocative case)" in the first sūtra of 'Viḷimarapu' and the phrase *'viḷi koḷvataṉ kaṇ'* "that which takes the vocative form"[72] bear testimony to the fact that some nouns do not occur in the vocative case. A few nouns (and pronouns) that do not take the vocative form are listed by Tolkāppiyaṉār. They are enumerated here.

1. Rational Nouns with final vowels other than
   -i, -u, -ai and *-ō* (TC, 124)
2. Rational Nouns with final consonants other than
   -ṉ, -r, -ḷ and *-l* (TC, 128, 129)
3. Personal Pronouns
   tāṉ, yāṉ (TC, 137)
   nīyir (TC, 143)
4. Demonstrative Pronouns
   avaṉ, ivaṉ, uvaṉ (TC, 137)
   avaḷ, ivaḷ, uvaḷ (TC, 148)
   avar, ivar, uvar (TC, 142)
5. Interrogative Pronouns
   yāvaṉ (TC, 137)
   yāvaḷ (TC, 148)
   yāvar (TC, 143)

---

[71] TC, 152

[72] TC, 63, 118.

6. Nouns denoting relations with initial *ta-*, *na-*, *nu-* and *e-* and with final *-ṉ*, *-ḷ* and *-r* (TC, 154).

e.g. *tamaṉ*, *namaṉ*, *numaṉ*, *emaṉ*, etc.

Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses the nouns which take the vocative case under three groups. They are of the rational nouns, common nouns and of non-rational nouns

6.13.2. **Rational Nouns**

Nouns with Final Vowels

1.	*-i* → *-ī*	(TC, 121)	*nampi* > *nampī*
2	*-ai* → *āy*		*aṉṉai* > *aṉṉaāy*

3. Nouns denoting relationship with final -ai (TC, 126)

-ai → *-ā*	(TC, 126)	*aṉṉai* > *aṉṉā*

4.	*-u* → *-u* + *-ē*	(TC, 122)	*vēntu* > *vēntē*
	-ō → *-ō* + *-ē*		*kō* > *kōvē*

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār the nouns with final shortened *-u* do not take the vocative form (TC, 123)

5. Nouns with final aḷapeḍai (Lengthening of sound in poetry)

-iii → *-iiii*	(TC, 125)	*tōḻiii* > *tōḻiiii*

6. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the nouns which are used to call one near at hand undergo no modification[73], e.g. *nampi*>*nampi-φ*

Nouns with Final Consonants

-ṉ

1.	*-aṉ* → *-ā*	(TC, 130)	*cōḻaṉ* > *cōḻā*

[73] TC, 127

If nouns with final *-an̲* is used to call one near at hand, only the final consonant is dropped and there is no lengthening of penultimate vowel.

-an̲ → *-a* (TC, 131) *ūran̲* > *ūra*

2. *-ān̲* → *-ān̲* (TC, 132) *cēramān̲* > *cēramān̲*
 Here no change occurs in the vocative form.

3. Participial and Qualitative Nouns

-ān̲ → *-āy* (TC, 133, 134) *vantān̲* > *vantāy*
kariyān̲ > *kariyāy*

4. Nouns with final aḷapeṭai become vocative forms due to meterical exigency (TC, 135; ref. TC, 125)

uḻāan̲ > *uḻāaan̲*

5. Nouns denoting relationship with final *-n̲*

-n̲ → *-n̲* + *ē* (TC, 136) *makan̲* > *makan̲ē*

-r

1. *-ar* → *-ir* (TC, 138) *kūttar* > *kūttir*
-ār → *-ir* *pārppār* > *pārppir*

2. Participial and Qualitative Nouns

-ar; *-ār* → *-ir* + *ē* (TC, 139, 140)

vantār > *vantir-ē*
kariyār > *kariyīr-ē*

-ḷ

1. -Vḷ → V̄ḷ (TC, 144) *makkaḷ* > *makkāḷ*
-V̄ḷ → V̄ḷ (TC, 145) *kōmāḷ* > *kōmāḷ*
(V = short vowel; V̄ — long vowel)

2. Participial Nouns and Qualitative Nouns

-āḷ → *-āy* (TC, 146) *uṇṭāḷ* > *uṇṭāy*
kariyāḷ > *kariyāy*

3. Nouns denoting relationship

-*ḷ* → -*ḷ*+-*ē* (TC, 147) *makaḷ* > *makāḷē*

6.13.3. Common Nouns

The common nouns with the four final vowels and four final consonants mentioned above undergo the same modifications, when they occur in the vocative case (TC, 150).

e.g. *Cātti* > *Cātti* ; *pūṇṭu* > *pūṇṭē* ; *tantai* > *tantāy*; *Cāttaṉ* > *Cāttā* ; *kūntal* > *kūntāl*; *makkaḷ* > *makkāḷ*

6.13.4. Non-rational Nouns

All non-rational nouns with final consonants and vowels take -*ē* after them in the vocative case.

-V → -V + -*ē* (TC, 151) *nari* > *nariyē*

-C → -C + -*ē* (TC, 151) *maram* > *maramē*

6.14. Functional Syncretism of Cases.

Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses the functional syncretism of cases in 'Vēṟṟumai mayaṅkiyal'. These functional syncretism of cases can be divided into functional syncretism of case meanings and functional syncretism of case markers. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār does not make such a classification, it is evident from his discussions on the subject that he treats them in different groups.

Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar name the former as 'poruṇ mayakkam' and latter as 'urupu mayakkam'[74]. Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses the former in several sūtras from the

[74] Cēṉā., op. cit., 84.
Nac., op. cit., 85.

beginning of the said chapter and the later in a few sūtras at the end of the chapter.

These functional syncretisms of cases can be perceived only at the syntactical level. So, only a brief discussion with a few examples is made here.

6.14.1. Functional Syncretism of Case Meanings

When markers of two or more different cases freely vary or are mutually substitutable in a certain meaningful construction, the meaning is said to be denoted by different cases. Such a functional syncretism of case meanings is called 'poruṇ mayakkam'

e.g. *paḻiy-iṉ añcum* "He is afraid of slander"

paḻiy-ai añcum

In the above construction the fifth case marker *-iṉ* and the second case marker *-ai* are in free variation. That is to say, the meaning 'fear' denoted by the construction, is common to both the cases.

Nampikku makaṉ "Son of Nampi"

Nampiyatu makaṉ "Son of Nampi"

Here the fourth case marker *-kku* (*-ku*) and the sixth case marker *-atu* denote the same meaning.

6.14.2. Functional Syncretism of Case Markers

When a case marker is employed in a meaning other than its own (i.e., to denote a meaning which is not within its range), its usage is idiomatic. Such a functional syncretism of case markers is called 'urupu mayakkam'

Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses the functional syncretism of the fourth case marker in detail[75].

[75] TC, 101, 110.

e.g. *avar-ku-c- ceyattakum ikkāriyam* "This act deserves to be done by him"
(3rd case meaning)

karuvūr-kku-k- kiḻakku "East of Karur"
(5th case meaning)

avaṉ Cāttaṟ-ku neṭiyaṉ "He is taller than Cāttaṉ"
(5th case meaning)

avan kālaikku varum "He comes in the morning"
(7th case meaning)

Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly says that whatever be the case marker, it should be taken to have the meaning of the case (marker) suitable to the context[76].

---

76 TC, 106.

7 'Cāriyais' or Flexional Increments

7.0. Tolkāppiyaṉār deals with the 'cāriyais' and the changes which they undergo when they occur with other morphemes in Urupiyal and in Puṇariyal and their occurrence in between the nouns and other words at random in the later chapters of Eḻuttatikāram. He considers them as a class of 'iṭaiccol' (17.4). As the 'cāriyais' are suffixed only to the nouns and as they intervene between the nouns and the case markers, they are taken up for study immediately after the nouns and the cases.

Dr. Caldwell calls them inflexional increments[1]. According to Tolkāppiyam, the 'cāriyais' occur between the noun stems and case markers, i.e., in inflexions and between the noun stems and other words, i.e., in word combinations. Here it is evident that the 'cāriyais' occur always after the nouns. Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly points out that they are suffixed to the nouns. The 'cāriyais' are only flexional increments, which help in sandhi occurring optionally or compulsorily when the nouns join with the adjacent case morphemes or with other words[2].

7.1. Flexional Increments and Empty morphs

Tolkāppiyaṉār classifies the flexional increments occurring in sandhi into 'cāriyais' and 'eḻuttu'[3]. It is evident from

1 Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 259.

2 TE, 112, 132.

3 TE, 112.

Tolkāppiyam that the 'cāriyais' are composed of sequence of phonemes and that only the increments consisting of single phonemes are identified by the term 'eḻuttu'.* The commentators and the later-day grammarians include all the increments under 'cāriyai' [4].

In making morphemic cuts, it is difficult or impossible to decide whether these increments go with the morpheme to the right or to the left. The phonemes or the sequence of phonemes which comprise the flexional increments are, in a number of cases, unassignable sub-morphemic elements. C. F. Hockett proposes a solution, viz., that in such situations the extra phoneme or phoneme sequences may be considered as separate morphs termed as "empty morphs", which do not represent any morpheme[5]. An empty morph is usually set up only when a given phoneme or phoneme sequence would otherwise have to be taken as identical fractions of the allomorphs of two or more different morphs. Hockett putting the definition of empty morph in a nutshell says that an empty morph assigned to no morpheme, must have no meaning and must be predictable in terms of non-empty morphs[6].

The 'cāriyais' enumerated by Tolkāppiyaṉār, in a number of instances, do not have any meaning and thus represent no morpheme. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār lists the specific shapes of the 'cāriyais', he himself deals with the changes, which they undergo, when they occur in sandhi. Thus it is evident that their shape is predictable in terms of the non-empty morphs with which they occur.

* There is a solitary instance (TE, 164) where a single phoneme -ē is termed as 'cāriyai', which may be considered as an exception to this.

4 Nan., 244.

5 Hockett, C. F., "Problems of Morphemic Analysis.," *Lg.*, 23 (1947), p. 321-343.

6 ———, op. cit., p. 342.

7.2. Flexional Increments and Cases

The flexional increments are not always empty morphs. When they occur between the noun stems and the case markers, they do not have any meaning and thus they are empty morphs. But when they occur between the noun stems and other words, in many instances they possess some case signification. Because of this reason Dr. Caldwell points out that the inflexional increments are old case signs[7]. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, acknowledging this view of Dr. Caldwell contributes something more in elucidation of it[8]. Anyone who attempts a study on 'cāriyai' has to agree with the above scholars. For example, in *aracaṉiṉ araṇmaṉai* "king's palace" the flexional increment *-iṉ-* has the genitive meaning. Thus it may be concluded that the 'cāriyai' occurring in inflexions are empty morphs and those occurring in word combinations mostly have the force of case signification.

Even in some of the instances of word combinations, they occur as empty morphs, e.g. in *āyira-tt-oṉṟu, pat(u)-iṉ-āyiram,* etc.

It may be pointed out here that in some instances two or more flexional increments occur in a sequence.

e g *mara-tt-iṉ-āṉ*

mara-tt-iṉ-u-kku

7.3. Obligatory and Non-obligatory Flexional Increments

Nida says that certain morphemes may be obligatory to a structural class and others not[9]. Accordingly, one may

---

[7] Caldwell, R. op. cit., p. 260 ff.

[8] Meenakshisundaran, T. P. "The So-called Inflexional Increments in Tamil", *IL,* 1959, p. 125-130.

[9] Nida, Eugene, *Morphology,* p. 85.

classify the flexional increments, in Tamil, into obligatory and non-obligatory flexional increments.

The flexional increments, which are indispensable for the declension, belong to the former class. Without taking this kind of flexional increments certain nouns do not take case markers. For instance, the nouns with final *-m* inevitably take the empty morph *-attu-* (*-tt-*) before taking case marker, e.g. *maram-attu-ai* (*mara-tt-ai*). The neuter plural nouns with final *-a* take *vaṟṟu* (*-aṟṟ-*) before taking case marker, e.g.

pala-vaṟṟu-ai (*pala-v-aṟṟ-ai*)

The occurrence of some of the flexional increments are not so indispensable as that of the former. The noun stems can take case markers with or without them. For instance, in *pāmpu-iṉ-ai*: *pāmpu-ai*, the flexional increment *-iṉ-* may or may not occur after the noun-stem '*pāmpu*'. The presence and the absence of the empty morph *-iṉ-* here are in free variation.

7.4. 'Cāriyais' listed in Tolkāppiyam

The nine 'cāriyais' listed in Tolkāppiyam are *-iṉ-*, *-vaṟṟu-*, *-attu-*, *-am-*, *-oṉ-*, *-āṉ-*, *-akku-*, *-ikku-* and *-aṉ-*[10]. It is of interest to note that all the 'cāriyais' except *-vaṟṟu-* are with initial vowels and that one exception too, is with an initial semi-vowel. Tolkāppiyaṉār evidently agrees that there are some 'cāriyais' other than those listed above.

An attempt is made here to study the above 'cāriyais' with special reference to their form and function.

7.5. *-iṉ-*

The 'cāriyai' *-iṉ-* occurs both in inflexions and in word combinations. Though it is structurally the same as the fifth

[10] TE, 119.

case marker, its function is entirely different. Naccinārkkiṉiyar says that the difference between the 'cāriyai' *-iṉ-* and the case marker *-iṉ-* is that while the former may take on a separate case marker, as in *pāmpu-iṉ-ai,* the latter cannot take another case marker[11].

Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly points out that the fifth case marker *-iṉ* does not take the 'cāriyai' *-iṉ-*[12]. It may be assumed here that it is due to their identity in forms. It must be remembered here that both are entirely different in function.

7.5.1. In Inflexions

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the 'cāriyai' *-iṉ-* occurs:

1) after the words with final *-a, -ā, -u, -ū, -ē, -au* (TE, 173), *-m* (TE, 186), shortened *-u* (TE, 195) and *-v* (TE, 184)

viḷa-v-iṉ-kaṇ	*viḷaviṉkaṇ*
palā-v-iṉ-ai	*palāviṉai*
kaṭu-v-iṉ-ai	*kaṭuviṉai*
kaḻū(u)-v-iṉ-ai	*kaḻūuviṉai*
cē-v-iṉ-ai	*cēviṉai*
vau-v-iṉ-ai	*vauviṉai*
	(*-v-* occurs as a glide)
urum-iṉ-ai	*urumiṉai*
varaku-iṉ-ai	*varakiṉai*
tev-iṉ-ai	*tevviṉai*

(2) after the verbal nouns with final *-ñ* and *-n* (TE, 182)

uriñ-iṉ-ai	*uriñiṉai*
porun-iṉ-ai	*poruniṉai*

---

11 Naccinārkkiṉiyar, *A Commentary on TE,* 113.

12 TE, 131.

(3) optionally after the words *aḷaṉ* and *puḷaṉ* (TE, 193)

aḷaṉ-iṉ-ai	*aḷaṉiṉai*
puḷaṉ-iṉ-ai	*puḷaṉiṉai*

In all the above instances *-iṉ-* occurs as an empty morph.

7.5.2. In Word Combinations

(1) *-iṉ-* occurs after the nouns *maka* (TE, 218), *āṭūu* (TE, 271) *makaṭūu* (TE, 271), *cē* (TE, 279), *vaṇṭu* (TE, 420) and *peṇṭu* (TE, 420).

maka-v-iṉ kai	*makaviṉ kai*
āṭūu-v-iṉ kai	*āṭūuviṉ kai*
makaṭūu-v-iṉ kai	*makaṭūuviṉ kai*
cē-v-iṉ kōṭu	*cēviṉ kōṭu*
vaṇṭu-iṉ- kāl	*vaṇṭiṉ kāl*
peṇṭu-iṉ kai	*peṇṭiṉ kai*

In these instances the 'cāriyai' *-iṉ-* is employed with the genitival force.

(2) *-iṉ-* occurs between the nouns denoting measurement with final shortened *-u* and the word *kuṟai* (TE, 167); and after the nouns *paṉai* and *kā* (TE, 169).

uḷakku-iṉ kuṟai	*uḷakkkiṉ kuṟai*
paṉai y-iṉ-kuṟai	*paṉaiyiṉ kuṟai*

He also *-iṉ-* occurs with the ablatival force. Dr. Caldwell and L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar also think that *-iṉ-* occurring in the word combinations like *oṉṟiṉ kuṟai* has the ablatival force[18].

---

18 Caldwell, R., op. cit., p. 260.

(3) *-iṉ-* occurs optionally after the nouns *paṉi* (TE, 241), *vaḷi* (TE, 242), *malai* (TE, 287), *veyil* (TE, 377) and *iruḷ* (TE, 402)

paṉi-y-iṉ koṇṭāṉ	*paṉiyiṟ koṇṭāṉ*
vaḷi-y-iṉ koṇṭāṉ	*vaḷiyiṟ koṇṭāṉ*
malai-y-iṉ koṇṭāṉ	*malaiyiṟ koṇṭāṉ*
veyil-iṉ koṇṭāṉ	*veyiliṟ koṇṭāṉ*
iruḷ-iṉ koṇṭāṉ	*iruḷiṟ koṇṭāṉ*

-iṉ- is employed here with the locative force. It is of interest to note here that *-iṉ- is followed by the verbs.*

(4) *-iṉ-* occurs between two numerals (TE, 433, 435, 470, 476) and between numerals and nouns denoting measurement (TE, 436, 459, 477) (4.20.2)

patu-iṉ mūṉṟu	*patiṉ mūṉṟu*
oṉpatu-iṉ kalam	*oṉpatiṉ kalam*

-iṉ- occurs as an empty morph after the numerals.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that *-i-* of *-iṉ-* may be dropped *when it occurs after the noun ā* "cow" (TE, 120). Thus according to him *ā-ṉ-ai* > *āṉai.* In a different sūtra, he says that the word *ā* takes *-ṉ* (TE, 231). The later-day grammarian Pavaṇanti describes the occurrence of the 'cāriyai' *-ṉ* after *ā*-[14]. Here it is evident that Tolkāppiyaṉār gives importance to the specific shapes of the 'cāriyais'.

It may be pointed out here that *-iṉ-* changes into *-iṟ-* before the plosives (TE, 123), e.g. *vaḷi-in-koṇṭāṉ* > *vaḷiyiṟkoṇṭāṉ*.

---

[14] Ramaswami Aiyar, "Dravidic Sandhi - Augments" *QJMS*, (1937-1938), p. 97, 98.
Naṉ, 248.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that when *-iṉ-* occurs between the numerals, and nouns denoting measurement with initial vowel, *-ṉ* changes into *-ṟ* (*iṉ-* > *-iṟ-*) (TE, 121). For this, the commentators cite examples like the following:

patu-iṟ-akal	*patiṟṟakal*
patu-iṟ-uḻakku	*patiṟṟuḻakku*

It is evident that the treatment of Tolkāppiyaṉār is not sufficiently accommodative as to give examples as the above. There is no sandhi pattern in Tamil to show the gemination of *-ṟ-* before a vowel[16].

7.6. *-vaṟṟu-*

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the 'cāriyai' *-vaṟṟu-* occurs both in inflexions and in word combinations. It always occurs after the neuter plural nouns. The actual form of this 'cāriyai' is *-aṟṟu-*.

7.6.1. **In Inflexions**

The 'cāriyai' *-vaṟṟu-* occurs after the nouns *pala* (TE, 174), *yā* (TE, 175), *avai, ivai, uvai* (TE, 177), *yāvai* (TE, 178), *av, iv, uv* (TE, 183) and *ellām* (TE, 189).

pala-v-aṟṟu-ai	*palavaṟṟai*
yā-v-aṟṟu-ai	*yāvaṟṟai*
avai-y-aṟṟu-ai	*avaiyaṟṟai*
yā(vai)-v-aṟṟu-ai	*yāvaṟṟai*
av-aṟṟai	*avaṟṟai*
ellā(m)-v-aṟṟu-ai	*ellāvaṟṟai*

16 Naṉ., 197-244. It is worthy of notice that the later-day grammar Naṉṉūl describes the occurrence of *-iṟṟu-* as 'cāriyai' in the environments cited here.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that when *yāvai* is followed by *-vaṟṟu-* the final *-vai* of *yā*vai is dropped (TE, 178).

yāvai-vaṟṟu-ai *yā-v-aṟṟu-ai.*

Further he says that *-v-* of *-vaṟṟu-* disappears when it occurs after the demonstrative pronouns with final -ai (TE, 122), e.g.

avai-vaṟṟu-ai *avai-y-aṟṟu-ai*

In all the above instances, the said 'cāriyai' occurs as an empty morph. It is only a connective morph.

7.6.2. **In Word Combinations**

-vaṟṟu- occurs after the nouns like *pala* (TE, 220), *avai, ivai, uvai* (TE, 281), *ellām* (TE, 322). *av, iv, uv* (TE, 378), etc.

pala-aṟṟu-k-kōṭu *palavaṟṟu k kōṭu*

avai-y-aṟṟu-k-kōṭu *avaiyaṟṟu-k kōṭu*

av-aṟṟu-k-kōṭu *avaṟṟu-k-kōṭu*

In the above instances the 'cāriyai' *-vaṟṟu-* (*-aṟṟu-*) occurs with the genitival force.

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the initial *-v-* of *-vaṟṟu-* or the final *-v* of the preceding members disappears in a number of instances in sandhi (TE, 122, 133). *-v-* which is separated from *-aṟṟu* in the foregoing instances is evidently a glide and *-aṟṟu-* is taken as the shape of the 'cāriyai'. This description is more accommodative and convenient. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar states that the demarcation of the exact structure of the 'cāriyai' suffers from the mistake of "false splitting" and that *-v-* really forms part of the plural bases[16]. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran also holds the same view[17]. It may

[16] Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., op. cit., p. 100.

[17] Meenakshisundaran, T. P., op. cit., p. 128.

be humbly pointed out here that *-v-* is not always part of the plural bases. Only after the words *av*, *iv* and *uv*, *-v-* can be considered as a part of the base (3.10). In all other instances *-v-* occurs as a glide[18] which is here wrongly considered as part of the 'cāriyai'. For example, in *pal-a*; *-a* is the neuter plural marker; there is no necessity of one more neuter plural marker *-v-* to occur after it.

However, none can deny the fact that the 'cāriyai' that occurs in the instances shown above is *-aṟṟu-*, (*-aṟṟ-*) as the later-day grammar Naṉṉūl explicitly points out[19].

If *-aṟṟu-* is taken as the actual form of this 'cāriyai', a few complicated sandhi rules enumerated in Tolkāppiyam can be dispensed with (TE, 122, 133, 183).

7.7. **-attu-**

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the 'cāriyai' *-attu-* occurs both in inflexions and in word combinations. This 'cāriyai' occurs only after the neuter singular nouns and in most of the instances cited in Tolkāppiyam, it does not occur in its full form.

7.7.1. **In Inflexions**

(1) *-attu-* occurs after the nouns denoting trees with final *-a* or *-ā* and before the seventh case marker *-kaṇ* (TE, 181)

viḷa-v-attu-k-kaṇ	*viḷavattu-k-kaṇ*
palā-v-attu-k-kaṇ	*palāvattukkaṇ*

(*-v-* occurs as a glide)

[18] The glide that occurs after the front vowels is *-y-* and after the back vowels is *-v-*

[19] Naṉ, 244, 250.

(2) after the nouns with final *-m* (TE, 185)

mara(m)-tt-ai *marattai*

and, (3) optionally after the nouns *aḷan* and *puḷaṉ* (TE, 193)

aḷa(ṉ)-tt-ai *aḷattai*

puḷa(ṉ)-tt-ai *puḷattai*

In these instances *-attu-* /*-tt-* occurs as an empty morph. Only after the *-a* and *-ā* ending nouns denoting trees, it occurs in its full form. Elsewhere the final consonant of the preceding member disappears (TE, 133) and even then *-tt-* is the sub-morphemic element that occurs there.

7.7.2. In Word Combinations

(1) *-attu-* occurs after *āyiram* and after the noun denoting star with final *-m* (TE, 317, 318, 331).

āyira(m)-tt-oṉṟu *ayirattoṉṟu*

maka(m)-ttu-k-koṇṭāṉ *makattu-k-koṇṭāṉ*

Here also *-tt-*/*-ttu-* occurs as an empty morph.

(2) after the noun *kaḷam* and before the noun *kuṟai* (TE, 168) and after the noun *maka* (TE, 219)

kaḷa(m)-ttu-k-kuṟai *kaḷattu-k-kuṟai*

maka-ttu-k-kai *makattu-k-kai*

Here the 'cāriyai' *-ttu-* occurs with the ablatival force.

and (3) after the nouns *nilā* (TE, 228), *paṉi* (TE, 241), *vaḷi* (TE, 242), *maḻai* (TE, 287), *viṇ* (TE, 305), *veyil* (TE, 377) and *iruḷ* (TE, 402)

nilā-ttu-k-koṇṭāṉ *nilāttu-k-koṇṭāṉ*

paṉi-y attu-k-koṇṭāṉ *paṉiyattu-k-koṇṭāṉ*

vaḷi-y-attu-k-koṇṭāṉ *vaḷiyattu-k-koṇṭāṉ*

maḻai-y-attu-k-koṇṭāṉ *maḻaiyattu-k-koṇṭāṉ*

veyil-attu-k-koṇṭāṉ *veyilattu-k-koṇṭāṉ*

iruḷ-attu-c-ceṉṟāṉ *iruḷ-attu-c-ceṉṟāṉ*

In these instances *-ttu-/-attu* is employed with the locatival signification.

7.8. *-am-*

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the 'cāriyai' *-am-* occurs only in word combinations. The adjacent nouns, between which *-am-* intervenes are of genitival relationship. The presence and the absence of *-am-* in between the nouns combined are in free variation and thus *-am-* makes no difference in meaning.

(1) *-am-* occurs after the nouns *puḷi* (TE, 244), *paṉai* (TE, 283) *arai, āvirai* (TE, 283), *āṇ* (TE, 304), *ekiṉ* (TE, 336), *pīr* (TE, 365), *pūl, vēl, āl* (TE, 375), *kumiḷ* (TE, 386) *ceru* and *eru* (TE, 260) and after the nouns denoting trees with final *-u* (TE, 415).

puḷi-y-am-kōṭu *puḷiyaṅkōṭu*

āṇ-am-kōṭu *āṇaṅkōṭu*, etc.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that when *-am-* occurs after the word *ceru*, the final *-m* of the 'cāriyai' is dropped and the following plosive consonant is geminated (TE, 260). Thus according to him *ceru-v-am-kaḷam* becomes *ceruva-k-kaḷam*. Here it is evident that the intervening flexional increment is *-a-* and not *-am*. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār describes the occurrence of the flexional increment *-a-* in some places, it is not known why he states that the modified form of *-am-* occurs here (TE, 346, 374, etc.)

(2) *-am-* occurs after the name *Cāttaṉ*, when its final *-aṉ* is elided (TE, 350).

Cātt(-aṉ) -am-koṟṟaṉ *Cāttaṅkoṟṟaṉ*

It is evident that the 'cāriyai' *-am-* does not occur here and it is only an assimilation of the final consonant as a homorganic nasal to the initial consonant of the following member.

(3) *-am-* occurs after the nouns with final shortened *-u* and a penultimate long vowel (TE, 417).

ēṟu-am-kōḷ *ēṟaṅkōḷ*

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that when *-am-* is followed by *k-*, *c-* and *t-*, the final *-m* changes into *-ṅ-*, *-ñ-*, and *-n-* respectively (TE, 129). Such changes may be codified by the morphophonemic rule *m*+P>NP.

where N = homorganic nasal ; P = plosive.

7.9. *-oṉ-*

The 'cāriyai' *-oṉ-* according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, occurs both in inflexions and in word combinations. It occurs after the nouns with final *-ō* only (TE, 180, 294), i.e., after the word *kō*.

7.9.1. In Inflexions

kō-oṉ-ai *kōoṉai*

Here *-oṉ-* has no meaning

7.9.2. In Word Combinations

kō-oṉ-kai *kōoṉ kai*

Here the 'cāriyai' *-oṉ-* has the genitive value

Naccinārkkiṉiyar mentions that the 'cāriyai' *-iṉ* is also sometimes used instead of *-oṉ-*. According the later-day grammar Naṉṉūl, the 'cāriyai' that occurs after *kō* is *-ṉ*[20]. It

[20] Naṉ., 248.

may be noticed in the word *kōṉ* that the final -*ṉ* is the remnant of the old 'cāriyai' -*oṉ*-.

7.10. -*āṉ*-

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the 'cāriyai' -*āṉ*- occurs both in inflexions and in word combinations. But an analytical study will gleam the fact that it does dot occur in inflexions. The only instance of its occurrence explicated by Tolkāppiyaṉār is arrived at by wrongly segmenting the words.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that in compounds with numbers one to eight as prepounds and *paktu* as a postpound, there is no harm, if the 'cāriyai' -*āṉ*- also is inserted and in that case *aktu* of *paktu* is dropped. Thus according to him, *orupaktu*+ -*ai* > *orup-āṉ-ai* > *orupāṉai* (TE, 199). But the compounds *orupāṉ*, *irupāṉ*, etc., may be segmented as *oru* -*pāṉ*, *iru-pāṉ*, etc. *pāṉ* is evidently an allomorph of *pattu* (4.20.4). It must be pointed out here that the author himself uses the word *oṉpāṉ* instead of *oṉpaktu* or *oṉpatu*. Thus it is evident that *pāṉ* as a variant of pattu is acceptable to him also. But here in the above instance, he insists on the occurrence of 'cāriyai' by wrongly segmenting the words.

-*āṉ*- occurs between the nouns denoting stars and the verbs (TE, 247, 286, 331).

paraṇi-y-āṉ-koṇṭāṉ	*paraniyāṟ kaṇṭāṉ*
kēṭṭai-y-āṉ-kaṇṭāṉ	*keṭṭaiyāṟ koṇṭāṉ*
maka-tt-āṉ-koṇṭāṉ	*makattāṟ koṇṭāṉ*

L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar thinks that the so-called 'cāriyai' -*āṉ*- is in origin the same as the third "case" ending and that it is called a 'cāriyai' in the instances covered by TE, 247, because the inflexional force of the element had become more or less "obscured" here[21]. It may be pointed out here

[21] Ramaswami Aiyar, op. cit., p. 100, 101.

that though *-āṉ-* is structurally the same as the third case marker, it is employed with the locative signification.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that *-ṉ-* of *-āṉ-* changes into *-ṟ-*, if it occurs before a plosive (TE, 124).

-*ṉ*+P > *ṟ*P (where P stands for a plosive)

7.11. *-akku-*

Accordihg to Tolkāppiyam, the 'cāriyai' *-akku-* occurs after the nouns, only in word combinations. There is no instance available, either in Tolkāppiyam or in any other extant texts, showing its occurrence in its full form. Tolkāppiyaṉār himself explicitly says that the final *-u* and the preceding consonants of *-akku-* are dropped, when it is followed by a plosive. Thus according to him, the real form of the 'cāriyai' in its actual occurrences is *-a-* and not *-akku-*. Elsewhere Tolkāppiyaṉār describes *-a-* as a flexional increment[22]. It is not known why he takes *-akku-* as a form of 'cāriyai', occurring in some instances.

(1) According to him *-akku-* occurs after the nouns *im* (TE, 329), *kam* (TE, 329), *tāḷ* (TE, 384) and *tamiḻ* (TE, 385).

im-a-k-kuṭam	*imakkuṭam*
kam-a-k-kuṭam	*kammakkuṭam*
tāḷ-a-k-kōl	*tāḷakkōl*
tamiḻ-a-p-piḷḷai	*tamiḻappiḷḷai*

(2) *-akku-* occurs after the noun *ūṉ* (TE, 270) and after the noun with final shortened *-u* (TE, 418).

ūṉ-a-k-kuṟai	*ūṉakkuṟai*
maṉṟ(u)-a-p-peṇṇai	*maṉṟappeṇṇai*

22. TE, 161, 162, 223, 226, 299, 346, 374.

It is evident that *-a-* occurs in the above instances as a connective morph.

7.12. *-ikku-*

The 'cāriyai' *-ikku-* occurs, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, only after the nouns denoting months with final *-i* and *-ai*, and when followed by the verbs. The form *-ikku-* is not at all found to occur in anyone of the extant texts, in its full form. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that *-i-* of *-ikku-* is dropped after the words with final *-i* and *-ai* (TE, 126, 127). The actual form that occurs in the instances enumerated by Tolkāppiyaṉār is *-kku-* (*-ku-*), which is structurally the same as the fourth case marker (6.9).

-ikku- occurs after the nouns *āṭi* (TE, 248) and *cittirai* (TE, 286).

āṭi-k-ku-k-koṇṭāṉ *āṭikku-k-koṇṭāṉ*
cittirai-k-ku-k-koṇṭāṉ *cittiraikku-k-koṇṭāṉ*

Here it must be noticed that this 'cāriyai' occurs only after *-i* ending words. It is evident from Tolkāppiyam that *cittirai* is also a *-i* ending word in the sense that *-ai* is a combination of *a* + *i* (TE, 54). From this, it can be inferred that the ancient grammarian might have wrongly segmented the final phoneme *-i* of the base as the part of 'cāriyai'.

Naccinarkkiṉiyar points out that the 'cāriyai' *-ikku-* is employed with locative force. None can deny the fact that in the above instance of its occurrence, *-ku-* gives the locative signification.

It is of interest to note that the fourth case marker *-ku*, according to Tolkāppiyam, may occur in the place of seventh case marker denoting time (TC, 110). Thus one may be

tempted to consider this *-ku-* (*-ikku-*) as the fourth case marker used in seventh case meaning.

7.13. *-an-*

The 'cāriyai' *-an-* occurs both in inflexions and in word combinations. It occurs after the neuter singular demonstrative and interrogative pronouns and after the numerals.

7.13.1. **In Inflextions**

-an- occurs after the pronouns *atu, itu, utu* (TE, 176), *yātu, aktu, iktu, uktu* (TE, 200) and after the numerals (TE, 194, 198, 419).

atu-an-ai	*atanai*
yātu-an-ai	*yātanai*
iktu-an-ai	*itanai*
onru-an-ai	*onranai*

In all these instances, *-an-* occurs as an empty morph.

7.13.2. **In Word Combinations**

-an- occurs after the pronouns and the numerals, cited above and after the noun *pentu* (TE, 263, 388, 420, 421, 422)

atu-an kōtu	*atan kōtu*
yātu-an kōtu	*yātan kōtu*
pentu-an kai	*pentan kai*
onru-an kāyam	*onran kāyam*

Here *-an-* is employed with the possessive signification.

Tolkāppiyanār says that *-n-* in *-an-* changes into *-r-* when it occurs before the dative case marker (TE, 123).

atu-an-ku > *atarku*

It is evident that the 'cāriyai' *-an-* occurs only after the neuter singular nouns.

7.14. Other Flexional Increments Treated in Tolkāppiyam

Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to some of the flexional increments, consisting of single phoneme, instantaneously when he deals with the sandhi changes. They may be identified by the term 'eḻuttu' as per Tolkāppiyam terminology. The commentators consider some of them also as 'cāriyais'. They are *-a-*, *-u-*, *-e-*,* *-ē-*, *-o-*, *-ṉ-*, *-ai-*, *-ā-*, etc.[23]

The commentators group some morphemes also under the term 'cāriyai'. They are *-um-*, *keḻu*, *-tam-*, *-nam-*, *-num-* and *-ñāṉṟu*[24]

-um is a particle having different significations

keḻu is an adverb which means "replete with"

-tam-, *-nam-*, and *-num-* are the oblique forms of the personal pronouns. They are inserted between the inclusive pronouns and the case markers to form the oblique bases of the inclusive pronouns. (3.8)

ñāṉṟu is a 'cāriyai' according to Iḷampūraṇar but it is really a free from (*ñāṉṟu* means "time").

---

23 *-a-* TE, 161, 162, 223, 226, 282, 299, 346, 374.
-u- TE, 234, 261, 267, 295, 298, 306. 327, 328, 348, 373, 376, 386, 403.
-e- TE, 277.
-ē- TE, 164, 431.
-o- TE, 292.
-ṉ- TE, 231, 232, 269, 270,
-ai- TE, 258.
-a- TE, 258.

* When nouns denoting measurement and numerals are followed by the same or related category of words, the 'cāriyai' *-ē-* occurs between them. (TE, 164)

24 *-um*, *keḻu* TE, 481.
tam, *nam*, *num*, TE, 190, 191, 320, 344.
ñāṉṟu Iḷampūraṇar, *A Commentary on TE*, 120.

8 Verbs

8.1. Definition

Tolkāppiyaṉār states that 'viṉai' does not take case markers but is generally found denoting tense[1]. All the commentators, except Dr. P. S. Sastri, consider the above as the definition of verbs, according to Tolkāppiyam. Dr. P. S. Sastri says that according to Tolkāppiyaṉār 'viṉai' is that which denotes action and time and which does not take case-suffixes after it[2]. Thus Sastri insists on an additional criterion of meaning also to define a verb, but Tolkāppiyaṉār does not seem to define it from the point of view of semantics. In the same sūtra, which defines a verb, there occurs a phrase *'niṉai-yuṅkālai-k-kālamoṭu'* - "with tense on scrutiny", by which as the commentators interpret, Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to 'kuṟippu' - "the so-called appellative verbs" (10.1), in which, according to him, the tense is not overtly marked[3].

While defining a verb here, he confines himself to the morphological level only. But in order to distinguish a verb from a noun, its functional characteristics, at the syntactical level may also be taken into consideration. Enumerating the different types of predicates (6.6.2) Tolkāppiyaṉār says that they are 'peyar-p-payaṉilai'[4] - "predicate of the noun in the

---

[1] TC, 198.

[2] Sastri, P. S., HGT, p. 147.

[3] TC, 200.

[4] TC, 66.

nominative case". Kallāṭaṉār interprets them as predicates of a noun[5]. Thus it is evident that a noun takes predicates. It has been already discussed that both nouns and verbs can function as predicates (6.6.2). But Tolkāppiyaṉār does not indicate anywhere that a verb occurs as a subject. He explicitly points out that a noun in the nominative case occurs as a subject[6]. Thus it may be concluded that a verb does not occur as a subject, according to Tolkāppiyam. It must be pointed out here that though the participial nouns (5.4-6) are identical with the finite verbs in structure, according to Tolkāppiyam they are a sub-class of nouns, capable of occurring as subjects or of being declined[7].

While dealing with the general meaning of the second case, Tolkāppiyaṉār says that it may be governed by a 'viṉai' or 'kuṟippu'[8]. Usually the second case denotes the direct object of a verb[9]. From this it can be inferred that a verb is capable of governing a direct object, i.e., the object and the transitive verb can stand as immediate constituents.

In Eccaviyal, Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the adverbial participles take 'viṉai' or 'kuṟippu' (10.8) as complements[10], i.e., the adverbial participles modify the verbs. Thus it may be inferred that a verb takes or is capable taking the adverbial participles as attributes, i.e., a verb can be modified by the adverbial participles and not by the adjectival participles.

---

5 Kal., *A Commentary on TC*, 67.

6 TC, 65, 66.

7 TC, 70.

8 TC, 71.

9 Only transitive verbs take direct objects. It may be noticed that Tolkāppiyaṉār does not make a distinction between the transitive and intransitive verbs in his work.

10 TC, 432.

In Vēṟṟumai mayaṅkiyal, Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates eight things that may be governed by a verb. They are the action, the doer, the object of the verb, the place, the time, the instrument, the recipient and the purpose of doing[11]. The later-day grammarian Pavaṇanti is inclined to adapt this as the definition of 'viṉai'[12]. After a careful study it is evident that Tolkāppiyaṉār does not seem to include this sūtra in the chapter that deals with the functional syncretism of cases, as the definition of verb but his purpose is to describe the occurrence of different case signification in relation to verbs.

The definition of verb, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, may be summed up here. A verb is that which does not take case marker but takes or is capable of taking tense marker. Further, it is capable of occurring as a predicate and not as a subject and of being modified by the adverbial participles. Transitive verbs can take or govern a direct object.

8.2. Classification of Verbs in Tolkāppiyam

Tolkāppiyaṉār classifies the verbs into two major groups, namely 'viṉai' and 'kuṟippu'. By the term 'viṉai' he refers to regular verbs and by 'kuṟippu' he means the so-called appellative verbs (10.0). Then he classifies all the verbs in a different way, according to their usage, into three different classes, namely the rational verbs, the non-rational verbs and the common verbs,[13] i.e., the verbs that are common to both the rational and non-rational classes.

He assigns the first person verbs and the third person masculine gender, feminine gender and epicene plural verbs to

---

11 TC, 112.

12 Naṉ., 340.

13 TC, 201.

the rational class; the third person neuter singular and neuter plural verbs to the non-rational class and the second person verbs and a few other impersonal verbs to the common class. It is evident that Tolkāppiyaṉār makes such a classification from the point of view of meaning only, which is little useful from the structural point of view.

Simultaneously the grammarian divides the personal verbs under three different persons on the basis of the different personal or pronominal terminations[14]. He divides the personal verbs according to different numbers and genders also. The two-way number distinction and the five-fold gender distinction, in Tamil, are crystal clear from the treatment of verbs also.

Tolkāppyiaṉār enumerates eight categories of common verbs in a separate sūtra. They are the second person verbs, the optatives, the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern, adjectival participles, adverbial participles, 'ceymmaṉa' pattern, vēṟu and illai (il).

The classification of verbs, according to Tolkāppiyam, is shown in chart I.

8.3. Classification of Verbs in the Present Study

On the basis of the formal and functional characteristics of the verbal forms, all the verbs may be divided into two major classes. The first one is the class of finite verbs and the second is of non-finite verbs. The finite verbs occur as predicates whereas the non-finite verbs occur as attributes to

---

14 Personal or Pronominal terminations are the terminations of the first, second and third personal verbs. As they mark the distinction of persons, they are identified as personal terminations. As they are the corrupted forms of the first and second personal pronouns in the case of first and second person verbs and of the (remote) demonstrative pronouns in the case of third person verbs, they are identified as pronominal terminations.

nouns or modifiers of verbs. The differences in form are discussed later.

The finite verbs may be subdivided into two main classes on the basis of the presence or the absence of pronominal terminations. Those which take the personal or pronominal terminations may be identified as the personal finite verbs and those which do not have the said terminations may be identified as impersonal finite verbs (12.1-5).

The finite verbal forms of 'kuṟippu' "the so-called appellative verbs" take different pronominal terminations and occur in different persons. The imperative verbs have reference to the second person. But these finite verbal forms do not show a three-way tense distinction. Since they have also reference to particular persons, they may be considered as sub-classes of personal finite verbs.

Since the personal finite verbs are of major importance in the verbal system of Tamil language and since they are elaborately treated in Tolkāppiyam from the beginning of Viṉaiyiyal, a detailed treatment of them immediately follows this chapter. Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to 'kuṟippu' (10.3) even from the beginning of discursion on verbs in his work. Though there are 'kuṟippu' belonging to the impersonal finite verbs and to the non-finite verbs, he does not say anything about them; but it is evident that he treats some of the forms belonging to them (13.5, 19; 12.4). Those forms will be properly identified under the concerned chapters. Since Tolkāppiyaṉār speaks of finite forms of the so-called appellative verbs always in connection with the personal finite verbs and since they occur in three different persons (3.2) they are treated after the personal finite verbs in a separate chapter (10.8). As pointed out earlier, the imperative verbs have reference to the second person only, but they are also finite verbs. They are studied separately after the so-called appellative verbs.

The next chapter deals with the study of impersonal verbs under five different sections. Though they do not take any personal terminations, Tolkāppiyaṉār assigns some of them to certain persons.

Then follows the study of the non-finite verbs, i.e., adverbial participles and adjectival participles, one after another in the same chapter.

After the study of the finite and the non-finite verbs, the grammatical categories of verbs, tense and voices are discussed in three chapters.

The verbs treated in Tolkāppiyam are classified for the present study, as shown in chart II.

CHART: I

The Clasification of Verbs According to Tolkāppiyaṉār

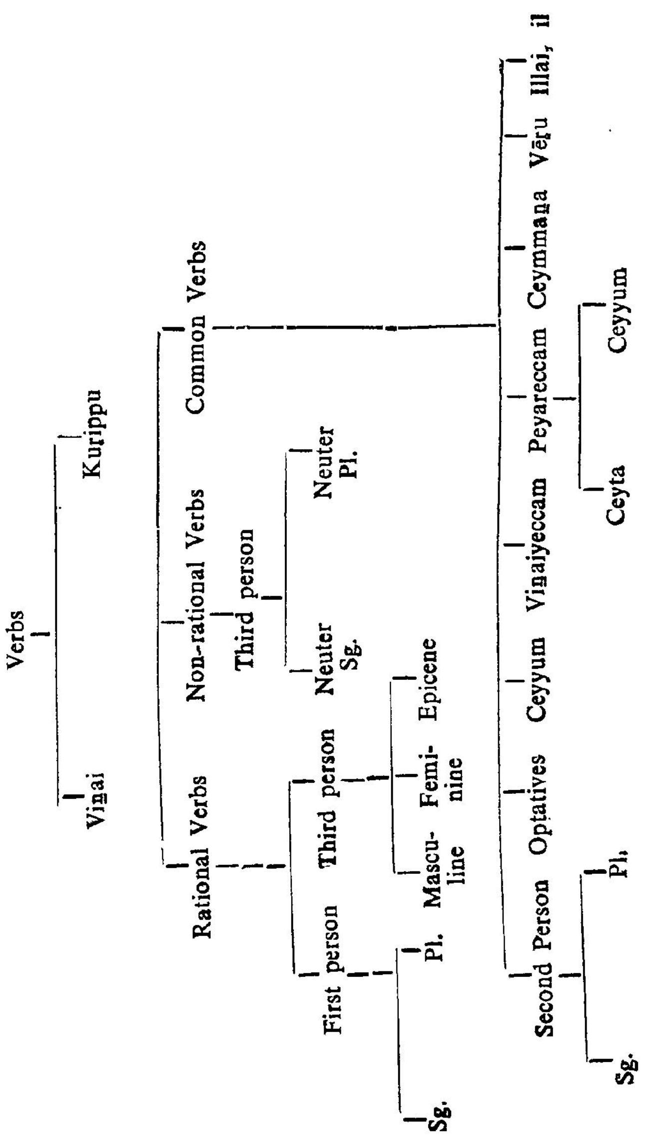
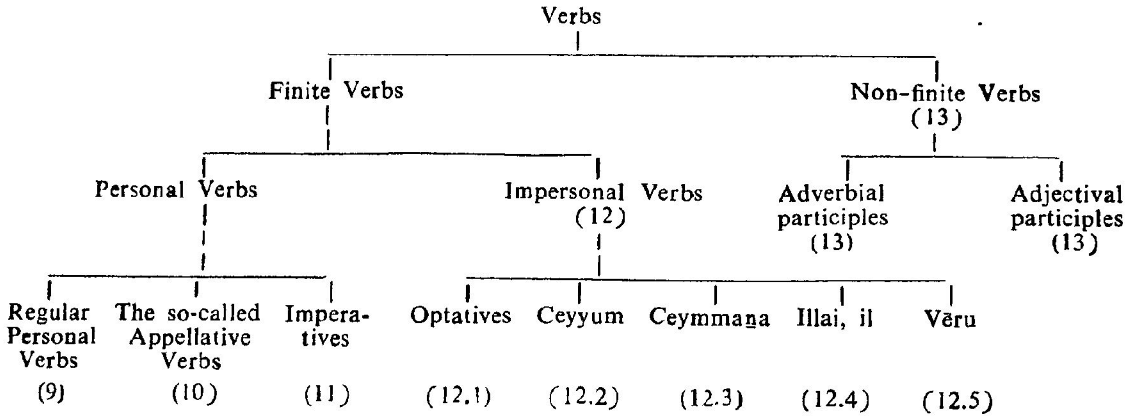


CHART: II

The Classification of Verbs made for the Purpose of the Present Study



Note : Chapter numbers are given within brackets

9 Personal Finite Verbs

9.1 Classification of the Personal Finite Verbs

The personal finite verbs are divided into three classes according to their occurrence in three different persons (3.2). Each of the first and the second personal verbs are further divided into two classes, viz., singular and plural. The third personal finite verbs are divided into rational and non-rational verbs. The rational verbs are further divided into two classes, singular and plural. There is a two-way distinction of gender in the rational singular, namely the masculine and the feminine. The plural has only one class without making a distinction between male and female. The non-rational verbs are also further divided into two classes, neuter singular and neuter plural. Thus the five-fold classification of the finite verbs is possible in the case of third person only (2.6).

It is evident that the first and the second personal verbs vary in number only but the third personal verbs vary not only in number but also in gender. These variations or distinctions are marked by the-suffixes which are mostly overt in the verbs.

9.2. Personal or Pronominal Terminations Enumerated in Tolkāppiyam

The personal terminations of the finite verbs enumerated in Tolkāppiyam are listed here and subsequently a critical study of them is attempted from the modern point of view[1].

[1] TC, 202-227, 216, 217, 223, 224.

Usually the personal finite verbs are being described in the pattern :- verbal stem+tense marker+pronominal termination. In some verbs the transitive or transitive-causative marker may intervene between the stems and the tense markers. In the past tense verbal forms, the link morph *-aṉ-* may occur before the short vowels occurring as person markers.

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not deal much with the verbal stems; but only makes an indication of the root pattern '*cey*' which generally occurs as stems of the finite verbs, when he speaks about the patterns of forms that occur in the second person[2]. In a number of sūtras, Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the tenses, a study of which will be attempted later. (14.1-10). In this chapter our main concern is with the terminations of the personal finite verbs only.

9.3. An Attempt at the Segmentation of the Terminations

The pronominal terminations of the third personal verbs enumerated in Tolkāppiyam include the person markers and the number-gender markers. The number-gender markers alone are discussed in the first chapter of Collatikāram[3]. For instance, *-ṉ* is the masculine singular marker, *-ḷ* is the feminine singular marker, etc. Thus the suggestion for further segmentation of third person verbal terminations into person markers+number-gender markers is posited by Tolkāppiyaṉār himself. Accordingly, the segmentation of *-aṉ*, *-āṉ* into *-a-ṉ*, *-ā-ṉ* *-aḷ*, *-āḷ* into *-a-ḷ*, *-ā-ḷ* and *-ar*, *-ār* into *-a-r*, *-ā-r* is acceptable to him. Hence, the similar segmentation of all other personal terminations is made possible by Tolkāppiyaṉār himself.

---

[2] TC, 450.

[3] TC, 5-9.

First Person

Tolkāppiyaṉār considers the first personal verbs as belonging to the rational class only[4].

9.4. **Singular** (TC, 203)

9.4.1. *-eṉ, ēṉ -e-ṉ, -ē-ṉ*

-e- ~ -ē-	first person marker
-ṉ	singular number marker
va-nt-aṉ-e-ṉ	(PN, 135)
niṟu-pp-e-ṉ	(KT, 29)
kaṇ-ṭ-ē-ṉ	(PN, 198)
kāṇ-p-ē-ṉ	(NT, 259)

-ē- occurs always after the tense markers

-e- occurs after the link morph *-aṉ-* in the past finite verbs and elsewhere in free variation with *-ē-*

It must be pointed out here that the link morph *-aṉ-* which is called 'cāriyai' by the later-day grammarians[5] and not by Tolkāppiyaṉār, optionally occurs in the past finite verbs with *-t-* or its phonologically conditioned variants as past tense markers[6].

9.4.2. *-al -a-l*

-a- first person marker; occurs after the future tense marker *-p-* or *-v-*.

---

[4] Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses the first person verbs in the series of rational verbs.

[5] *Naṉ.*, 133, 244.

[6] The link morph *-aṉ-* does not occur after the past tense marker *-iṉ-*, e.g. 1) *aruḷiṉaṉ* 2) *aruḷiṉāṉ*.

-l Though it does not occur as number marker elsewhere, here it is taken to denote singular number.

varu-v-a-l (PN, 23)

9.4.3. *-ku, -ṭu, -tu, -ṟu*

Tolkāppiyaṉār includes the above also in the list of first person singular terminations, for the occurrence of which the following examples may be cited.

eṉku (PN, 49), *uṇṭu, varutu, cēṟu*

Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Kallāṭaṉār opine that they denote future tense[7]. But Naccinārkkiṉiyar states with caution that all the forms mostly denote future tense, but rarely the other two tenses[8]. Dr. P. S. Sastri remarks that wherever these terminations occur, they are not preceded by the tense markers unlike the terminations *-eṉ, -ēṉ*, etc., and that these terminations may have come into existence by cutting off *-ēṉ -āṉ, -ār*, etc., from *uṇṭēṉ, uṇṭāṉ, tantār*, etc[9].

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, regarding them as a very old unique formation of tense with *-t-*, states that in the early Caṅkam texts, he has not been able to locate any such first person singular forms like *ceṉṟu, varutu*, etc., and the affix employed here is allied to that used for one type of past stems, and this had led Vinson to postulate that this type was past in origin[10].

---

[7] Iḷa., *A Commentary on* TC, 199, 220.
Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 203.
Kal., *A Commentary on* TC, 206.

[8] Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 205.

[9] Sastri, P. S., HGT, p. 159.

[10] Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., "MOTV", An., 33 (1938), p. 769.

Dr. V. I Subramoniam segments these terminations into *-k-u*, *-ṭ-u*, *-t-u* and *-ṟ-u* and rightly identifies *-u* as first person marker[11]. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran posits the assumption that the singular *-ṉ* was lost in the first person finite verbs of the pattern 'ceyku', etc.[12]. Thus one may set up a zero to represent the number marker.

Only the 'ceyku' pattern of forms is found to occur in Caṅkam literature, e.g. *kāṇku* (PN, 17), *eṉku* (PN, 49). These forms are used in the future tense meaning. Cēṉāvaraiyar explicitly states that *-t-*, *-ṭ-* and *-ṟ-* are not future tense markers[13]. But he also agrees with some other commentators that the terminations *-ku*, *-ṭu*, *-tu*, *-ṟu* denote future tense. Here it may be assumed that *-k-*, *-ṭ-*, *-t-* and *-ṟ-* in the above terminations are link morphs. A zero may be posited to represent the tense also.

Thus these forms *eṉku*, *uṇṭu*, *varutu*, *ceṉṟu*, etc., may be segmented as *eṉ-k-*ϕ_1*-u-*ϕ_2, *uṇ-ṭ-*ϕ_1*-u-*ϕ_2, *varu-t-*ϕ_1*-u-*ϕ_2, *ceṉ-ṟ-*ϕ_1*-u* ϕ_2, etc.

eṉ, uṇ, varu, ceṉ	- verbal stems
-k-, -ṭ-, -t-, -ṟ-	-link morphs
$-\phi-_1$	-tense marker, probably future
-u-	-first person marker
$-\phi_2$	-singular number marker

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the form of '*ceyku*' pattern does not lose its finite form even though it is followed by another finite verb[14].

---

[11] Subramoniam, V. I., "Negatives," *TCult.*, VIII (1959), p. 37.

[12] Meenakshisundaran, T. P., *Papers on Linguistics and Literature*, p. 4.

[13] Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC. 202.

[14] TC, 204.

e.g. *kāṇku vanticiṉ peruma* (PN, 17)
"Oh! great king I came to see you"

In the above example *kāṇku* functions as an adverbial participle only.

9.5. **Plural** (TC, 202)

9.5.1. *-am, -ām* *-a-m, -ā-m*

-a- ~ -ā-	first person marker
-m	plural number marker.
uṇ-ṭ-aṉ-a-m	(PN, 199)
kāṇ-ku-v-a-m	(PN, 40)
kāṇ-p-ā-m	(KT, 36)

-ā- always occurs after the tense markers.

-a- occurs after the link morph *-aṉ-* in the past finite verbs and elsewhere in free variation with *-ā-*

According to the commentators, these terminations are inclusives, i.e., they include the person spoken to. But Tolkāppiyaṉār does not make any distinction between inclusiveness and exclusiveness either in the pronouns or in the verbs (3.3). So, it may be assumed that this sort of distinction was not clear-cut in Tamil at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār.

9.5.2. *-em, -ēm* *-e-m, ē-m*

-e- ~ -ē-	first person marker
-m	plural number marker
kaṇ-ṭ-aṉ-e-m	(AK, 69)
cel-v-ē-m	(PN, 31)

-ē- occurs always after the tense markers

-*e*- occurs after the link morph -*aṉ*- in the past finite verbs and elsewhere in free variation with -*ē*-

According to Cēṉāvaraiyar -*ē*- (-*ēm*) may also occur after the link morph -*aṉ*-.

The commentators consider these terminations as exclusives, i.e., they exclude the person spoken to (3.3; 9.5.1).

9.5.3. -*kum*, -*ṭum*, -*tum*, -*ṟum* (9.4.3)

uṇkum	(PN, 136)
kāṇṭum	(PN, 173)
uḷḷutum	(PN, 197)
cēṟum	(PN, 113)

Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Kallāṭaṉār opine that these terminations denote future tense[15]. Teyvaccilaiyār points out that the forms like *uṇṭum*, *varutum*, *cēṟum* may have future or present tense meaning according to the contexts[16]. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar observes that, while these forms as a rule denote future tense occasionally they may denote the other two tenses as well[17]. Further he remarks that when the elements -*k*-, -*ṭ*-, -*t*- and -*ṟ*- occur closer to the stem, they denote past tense and when they occur nearer to the final position, they denote future tense. According to him, verbs with -*ku*, -*kum*, -*ṭu*, -*ṭum*, -*tu*, -*tum*-, -*ṟu*, or -*ṟum* as terminations denote future tense, since -*k*-, -*ṭ*-, -*t*- and -*ṟ*- occur nearer to the final position. According to the later-day grammar Naṉṉūl, -*ku* and -*kum* denote the future, -*ṭu* and -*ṭum* denote the past

[15] Iḷa., *A Commentary on* TC, 199.
Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 202.
Kal., *A Commentary on* TC, 205.

[16] Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 195.

[17] Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 204.

and *-tu*, *-tum*, *-ṟu* and *-ṟum* the past and the future meanings[18].

uṇ-k-ϕ-u-m
kāṇ-ṭ-ϕ-u-m
eḻu-t-ϕ-u-m (Pari., 8.81)
cē(l)-ṟ-ϕ-u-m

-k-, *-ṭ-*, *-t-*, *-ṟ-*	link morps
-ϕ-	tense marker; probably aoristic future
-u-	first person marker
-m	plural number marker

Second Person

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the second personal verbs are common to both the rational and the non-rational classes.

9.6. **Singular** (TC, 223, 212).

9.6.1. *-i* Second person marker

kēṭ-ṭ-ϕ-i-ϕ	*kēṭṭi*	(PN, 289)
cey-t ϕ-i-ϕ	*ceyti*	(PN, 12)
eṉ-ṟ-ϕ-i-ϕ	*eṉṟi*	(AK, 81)

Iḷampūraṇar attributes the signification of the past tense to the forms like the ones above[19]. According to Cēṉavaraiyar, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Kallāṭaṉār, they denote future tense[20]. In Caṅkam literature also, they are found to denote the aoristic future tense.

18 Naṉ., 145.

19 Iḷa., *A Commentary on* TC, 218.

20 Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 223.
Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 225.
Kal., *A Commentary on* TC, 225.

In the above segmentation *-ṭ-*, *-t-* and *-ṟ-* are link morphs; the first zero represents the tense; *-ī-* is the person marker and the final zero represents the singular number marker.

9 6.2. *-ī*, *-ē* (TC, 451)

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not include these in the list of personal terminations but refers to them in Eccaviyal as the endings of second personal verbs. There he says that *-ī* and *-ē* may be suffixed to the second personal verbs, provided they are preceded by suitable consonants.

-ī

From the examples cited by the commentators, it can be inferred that *-ī* occurs after the consonants *-k-*, *-ṭ-*, *-t-* and *-ṟ-*

pukkī, *uṇṭī aṟitī* (PN, 10), *ceṉṟī* (AN, 46)

Dr. Varadarajanar states that the occurrence of *-ī* in the second person would have been clear, if Tolkāppiyaṉār had mentioned *-i*, *-ī*, *-ai* and *-āy* as the second person singular terminations. Further he opines that *-ī* has come to use due to the lengthening of *-i* [81].

Thus it is evident that *-ī* is second person marker. Other constituent morphemes of these forms may be described as has been already done (9.6.1).

-ē

According to the commentators *-ē* occurs in the second person verbs only after the consonant *-n* as in the following examples.

ceymmē (PN, 46)

pirimē (AK, 308)

[81] Varadarajanar, M., *Moḻiyiyal Kaṭṭuraikaḷ*, p. 236-242.

-ē is not a personal termination but is an expletive particle (11.8).

9.6.3. *-ai, -āy, -ōy* *-a-i*; *-ā-y*; *-ō-y* (11.3)

-a- ~ *-ā-* ~ *-ō-*	second person marker
-i ~ *-y*	singular number marker
uy-ku-v-a-i	(PN, 300)
kēṭ-ṭ-aṉ-a-i	(PN, 46)
pāṭ-iṉ-a-i	(PN, 105)

-a- occurs between the link morph *-aṉ-* or the tense markers and the singular marker *-i*.

teḷi-nt-ā-y (Pari., 11, 1, 115)
cey-t-ō-y (PN, 211)

-ā- occurs after the tense markers
-ō- freely varies with *-ā-* in poetry[aa]
-i occurs after the second person marker *-a-*
-y occurs after the second person marker *-ā-/-ō-*

9.7. **Plural** (TC, 224)

9.7.1. *-ir;-īr* *-i-r, -ī-r*

-i- ~ *-ī-*	second person marker
-r	plural number marker
iru-nt-aṉ-i-r	(PN, 141)
iraṅku-v-ī-r	(PN, 195)

-ī- occurs always after the tense markers
-i- occurs after the link morph *-aṉ-* in the past finite verbs and elsewhere in free variation with *-ī-*

aa TC, 212. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that in poetry *-ā-* of *-āy* changes into *-ō-*, i.e., *-āy*>*-ōy*.

9.7.11. *-min* *-m-in*

Tolkāppiyaṉār includes *-miṉ* also in the list of second person plural terminations. The termination always occurs in the plural imperatives, which have reference to the second person alone. This fact is evident from Caṅkam literature and from the conclusion reached elsewhere, namely, that Tolkāppiyaṉār treats the imperatives also under second personal verbs (11.1).

A detailed study of this termination is attempted in 11.6

Third Person

Rational

9.8. **Masculine Singular** (TC, 5, 205, 211)

-an, -āṉ, -ōṉ *-a-ṉ, -ā-ṉ-ō-ṉ.*

-a- ~ -ā- ~ -ō-	third person marker
-ṉ	masculine singular marker
uṇ-ṭ-aṉ-a-ṉ	(PN, 234)
kūṟ-iṉ-a-ṉ	(PN, 239)
koṇ-ṭ-ā-ṉ	(PN, 399)
kol-v-ā-ṉ	(PN, 232)
eṉ-ṟ-ō-ṉ	(PN, 380)
kēṭ-ṭ-ō-ṉ	(PN, 400)

-ā- occurs after the tense markers

-a- occurs after the link morph *-aṉ-* in the past finite verbs and elsewhere in free variation with *-ā-*

-ō- freely varies with *-ā-* in poetry[23]

It may be pointed out here that Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly states that *-ṉ* is the masculine gender singular marker[24].

9.9. **Feminine Singular** (TC, 6, 205, 211)

-aḷ, -āḷ, ōḷ -a-ḷ, -ā-ḷ, -ō-ḷ

-a- ~ -ā- ~ -ō-	third person marker
-ḷ	feminine singular marker
aḻu-t-aṉ-a-ḷ	(AN, 248)
vāḻ-v-ā-ḷ	(KT, 3)
peyar-nt-ō-ḷ	(AN, 249)

-ā- always occurs after the tense marker

-a- occurs after the link morph *-aṉ-* in the past finite verbs and elsewhere in free variation with *-ā-*

-ō- freely varies with *-ā-* in poetry[25]

Tolkāppiyaṉār treats *-ḷ* as the feminine gender singular in Kiḷaviyākkam[26].

9.10. **Rational (Epicene) Plural** (TC, 7, 206, 211)

9.10 1. *-ar, -ār, -ōr*

-a- ~ -ā- ~ -ō-	third person marker
-r	epicene plural marker

---

[23] TC, 211. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, in poetry *-ā-* may change into *-ō-* in the terminations *-āṉ, -āḷ* and *-ār*.

[24] TC, 5.

[25] See note 23.

[26] TC, 6.

uy-nt-aṉ-a-r	(PN, 93)
koṇ-ṭ-ā-r	(PN, 112)
uḷ-u-v-a-r	(PN,. 38)
eṇ-u-v-ō-r	(PN, 5)

-*ā*- occurs after the tense markers

-*a*- occurs after the link morph -*aṉ*- in the past finite verbs and elsewhere in free variation with -*ā*.

-*ō*- freely varies with -*ā*- in poetry[27]

There are no separate markers to denote the masculine and the feminine genders separately in the plural. The epicene plural marker -*r* includes both the masculine and the feminine just as in nouns[28] (2 7).

9.10.2. -*pa* -*p-a-ϕ* (TC, 7, 206)

This termination occurs in the examples like *eṉpa* (TE, 1), *moḻipa* (TE, 8), *eytupa* (PN, 27) etc. According to all the commentators on Tolkāppiyam, this termination denotes future tense. The above forms may be segmented as :

eṉ-p-a-ϕ
moḻi-p-a-ϕ
eytu-p-a-ϕ

Now it is evident that the termination -*pa* is a combination of the future tense marker -*p*- and the third person marker -*a*-. A zero has been set up at the end to represent the epicene plural morpheme.

---

[27] See note 23.

[28] TC, 7.

9.10.3. *-mār -m-ā-r* (TC, 7, 207)

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the *-mār* ending finite verbs are followed by another finite verb. Thus, though Tolkāppiyaṉār treats the verbs with *-mār* termination as finite verbs, he agrees that they are followed by another finite verb, i.e., they modify the finite verbs. As Teyvaccilaiyār also points out, the verbs with *-mār* termination, in several instances function as the adverbial participles (viṉaiyeccam; 13.14)[29]. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not include *-mār* in his list of adverbial participle terminations: on the other hand, he lists it as one of the epicene plural finite verbal terminations. Teyvaccilaiyār accepting its function as the adverbial participle marker, like Tolkāppiyaṉār considers it as the finite verbal termination, because the terminations of adverbial participles, according to him should not denote any gender, number etc.[30] Teyvaccilaiyār fails to observe the fact that *-mār* does not denote rational plural (epicene plural) when it occurs as adverbial participle termination.

e.g. 1) *naṉi viruntayarmār tēr varum* (Kuṟu., 155)
"To enjoy the feast the chariot will come"

Here *-mār* ending adverbial participle modifies the neuter singular finite verb.

2) *iṅku ēkumār uḷēṉ* (Kuṟu., 173, 7)
"I am here to leave this place"

Here *-mār* ending adverbial participle modifies the first person singular verb.

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not segment the termination into *-m-ā-r*. Cēṉāvaraiyar gives the reason that if it is segmented,

[29] Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 7.

[30] Ibid., 200.

-m- should denote future tense; but the future tense marker *-p-* and *-v-* are conditional variants, whereas *-m-* is not, becasuse it occurs after all the verbal stems[81]. This explanation of Cēṉāvaraiyar is against actual distribution, for there are instances, where *-p-* and *-v-* are in free variation after the same verbal stems.

1.	*ākupa*	*āku-p-a*	(PN, 7)
	ākuva	*āku-v-a*	(Kuṟu., 104)
2.	*ukupa*	*uku-p-a*	(KT, 48)
	ukuva	*uku-v-a*	(Kuṟu., 282)
3.	*kūṟupa*	*kūṟu-p-a*	(KT, 144)
	kūṟuva	*kūṟu-v-a*	(KT, 46)

On the other hand, a good number of instances are found in Caṅkam literature, for the occurrence of *-m-* as future (aoristic) tense marker (12.2.7).

1.	*eṉ-m-a-r*	(Pari., 12)
2.	*cey-m-aṉ a-φ*	(TC, 222)
3.	*eṉ-m-aṉ-ā-r*	(TC, 1; KT, 119)
4.	*uṇ-m-a-r*	(Pat., 24)

According to almost all the commentators *-mār* occurs in the future tense forms only. Dr. Caldwell also considers *-m-* in *-mār* as future tense marker[82]. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar rightly considers that *-um* ~ *-m* denotes aoristic future[83]. Dr. Varadarajaṉār opines that in the verbs with *-mār*

[81] Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 7.

[82] Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 239-241.

[83] Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., op. cit., p. 765.

termination *-um-* ~ *-m-* is the future tense marker and *-ār* is the epicene plural marker[84].

Thus it is evident that *-mār* may be segmented as *m-ā-r* and that *-m-* in *-mār* denotes tense (probably aoristic future); *-ā-* denotes third person; *-r* denotes epicene plural.

With regard to the formation of the *-mār* ending finite verbs, a suggestion, that they are formed from the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs by the addition of personal termination *-ār* can be put forth, in this treatise. Though the 'ceyyum' pattern verbs, according to Tolkāppiyam, do not occur in the epicene plural, it may not be wrong to assume that the finite verbs with *-mār* are the pronominalised forms of them, since there are instances, where the finite verbs of the said pattern are taking the pronominal terminations other than *-ār* (12.2.7).

e.g.	*koy-um-ōn*	*koyyum-ōn*	(PN, 225)
	cey-m-an-a-φ	*ceym-an-a*	(TC, 222)
	āk(u)-um-φ-tu	*ākum-tu*	(PN, 380)

In conclusion it can be said that *-mār* has two functions; one as finite verbal termination and the other as adverbial participle termination[85]. In the case of its occurence as finite verbal termination, *-mār* should be segmented as *-m-ā-r* and in the case of its occurrence as participle termination, into *m-ār* In both the cases *-m-* denotes future (aoristic) tense. In the verbal participles *-ār-* does not denote person, gender, etc., but it is simply a participle marker (13.14).

---

[84] Varadarajanār, M., op. cit., p. 209.

[85] In this connection the views of Mr. Elayaperumal found in his article "The *mār* suffix in early Tamil Literature" (IL, 1958, 177-181) have to be acknowledged.

Non-rational

9.11. Neuter Singular

-tu, -ṭu, -ṟu (TC, 8, 217)

aṭṭatu	*aṭ-ṭ-a-tu*	(PN, 77)
āvatu	*ā-v-a-tu*	(PN, 63)
eḻuntaṉṟu	*eḻu-nt-aṉ-ϕ-ṟu*	(PN, 241)
ākiṉṟu	*ā-k-iṉ-ϕ-ṟu*	(AN, 116)
ukaḷuntu	*ukaḷ-um-ϕ-tu*	(PN, 339)

-ṟu occurs after the link morph *-aṉ-* and after the past tense marker *-iṉ-* in the past tense finite verbs only.

It must be noticed that a zero is posited in between *-aṉ-* or *-iṉ-* and *-ṟu* to represent the third person marker.

-ṭu occurs in the defective verb *uṇṭu* (*uṇ-ṭu*)

-tu occurs elsewhere.

For the occurrence of *-ṭu* as the termination of the neuter singular finite verbs, the commentators give the examples *kuṟuntāṭṭu, kuṇṭukaṭṭu*, etc. These examples are really pronominalised nouns formed from the simple nouns by the addition of pronominal terminations (10.7). Naccinārkkiṉiyar says that *-ṭu* occurs in 'kuṟippu' only. As per the description attempted in this study, except a neuter singular defective verb (*uṇ-ṭu* < *uḷ-tu*) no other finite verbs take *-ṭu* as a termination. The pronominal termination *-ṭu* usually occurs in the pronominalised nouns (10.7).

Tolkāppiyaṉār treats - untu as an 'iṭaiccol' and states that there are instances, where *-um* becomes -untu[86]. The commentators cite examples like the following:-

[86] TC. 292.

peyarkkuntu	*peyar-kk-um-φ-tu*	(PN, 395)
nilaikkuntu	*nilai-kk-um-φ-tu*	(PN, 386)

Thus it is evident that *-untu* is a combination of two morphemes *-um+-tu*; *-um* denotes aoristic future; *-tu* neuter singular number (12.2.6).

In the neuter singular verbs, wherever the person marker is absent a zero is posited to represent the same.

9.12 *Plural* (TC, 9, 216).

9.12.1. *-a* *-a-φ*

iḻa-nt-aṉ-a-φ	(PN, 238)
taku-v-aṉ-a-φ	(PN, 157)
ā-ku-p-a-φ	(PN, 7)

-a- occurs after the link morph *-aṉ-* or after the tense markers.

A zero has been set up to represent the plural number marker.

9.12.2. *-va* *-v-a-φ*

tōṉṟu-v-a-φ	(PN, 4)

Almost all the commentators explicitly state that this termination occurs only in the future tense. Thus it is evident that *-v-* which is regarded as part of the neuter plural termination by Tolkāppiyaṉār, is the future tense marker; *-a-* is third person marker and a zero is set up to represent the plural number marker.

Teyvaccilaiyār puts forth an argument that if *-a* is suffixed to the singular forms like *uṇku*, it becomes *uṇka*, which is

[37] Tey., *A Commentary on* TC. 9.

evidently an optative form ; and so the consonant *-v-*, which must be inserted in between *-ku* and *-a*, forms part of the termination[87]. Since there is no non-rational singular verbs with *-ku* ending, like *uṇku*, it is not reasonable to suffix even *-va* to such of the forms to pluralise them.

9.12.3. *-ā* *-ā-a-ϕ*

uṇar-ā-a-ϕ	(PN, 375)
icai(-y)-ā-a-ϕ	(TC, 48)
koḷ-ā-a-ϕ	(TC, 124)

Iḷampūraṇar and Cēṉāvaraiyar clearly state that the termination *-ā* occurs only in the negative finite verbs[88]. Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar point out that *-ā* ending finite verbs do not take tense markers[89]. Thus it is evident that the negative marker occurs in the verbs with *-ā* ending.

ā + *a* > *ā* ; *-ā-* negative marker ;
-a- person marker.

A zero is posited to represent the plural number.

---

88 Iḷa., *A Commentary on* TC, 9.
Cēṉā., *A Commetary on* TC., 216.

89 Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 216.
Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 218.

TABLE I

Terminations of the Personal Finite Verbs According to Tolkāppiyaṉār

First Person (Rational Class)		Second Person (Common Class)		Third Person				
				Rational Class			Non-rational class	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Masculine Sg.	Feminine Sg.	Epicene Pl.	Neuter Sg.	Neuter Pl.
-eṉ	-em	-i	-ir	-aṉ	-aḷ	-ar	-tu	-a
-ēṉ	-ēm	-ai	-īr	-āṉ	-āḷ	-ār	-ṭu	-ā
-al	-am	-āy	-miṉ	-ōṉ	-ōḷ	-ōr	-ṟu	-va
-ku	-ām	-ōy	(-m~ -um)			-pa		
-ṭu	-kum	(-i)				-mār		
-tu	-ṭum							
-ṟu	-tum							
	-ṟum							

TABLE II

Segmentation of the Terminations of Personal Finite Verbs (in the Present Study)

First Person		Second Person		Third Person				
				Rational			Non-rational	
				Masculine	Feminine	Epicene	Neuter	Neuter
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
-e-ṉ	-a-m	-i-φ	-i-r	-a-ṉ	-a-ḷ	-a-r	-tu	-a-φ
-ē-ṉ	-ā-m	-a-i	-ī-r	-ā-ṉ	-ā-ḷ	-ā-r	-ṭu	-ā-a-φ
-a-l	-e-m	-ā-y	-m-iṉ	-ō-ṉ	-ō-ḷ	-p-a-φ	-ṟu	-v-a-φ
-k-φ-u-φ	-ē-m	-ō-y				-m-ā-r		
-ṭ-φ-u-φ	-k-φ-u-m	(-ī-φ)						
-t-φ-u-φ	-ṭ-φ-u-m							
-ṟ-φ-u-φ	-t-φ-u-m							
	-ṟ-φ-u-m							
(9.4)	(9.5)	(9.6)	(9.7)	(9.8)	(9.9)	(9.10)	(9.11)	(9.12)

Note: Section numbers in which these terminations are discussed are given within brackets.

TABLE III

Number or Number-gender Markers in Old Tamil Verbs

- First Person
  - Sg: *-n̠*, *-ϕ*, *-l*
  - Pl: *-m*
- Second Person
  - Sg: *-i*, *-y*, *-ϕ*
  - Pl: *-r*, *-m*
- Third Person
  - Rational
    - Masculine Sg: *-n̠*
    - Feminine Sg: *-ḷ*
    - Epicene Pl: *-r*, *-ϕ*
  - Non-rational
    - Neuter Sg: *-tu*, *-ṟu*, *-ṭu*
    - Neuter Pl: *-ϕ*

TABLE IV

Person Markers in Old Tamil

Persons

First Person	Second Person	Third Person
-e- (*-n̲*, *-m*)	*-i-* (ɸ, *-r*)	*-a-* (*-n̲*, *ḷ-*, *-r*, *-*ɸ, *-tu*)
-ē- (*-n*, *-m*)	*-ī-* (*-*ɸ, *-r*)	*-ā-* (*-n̲*, *-ḷ*, *-r*)
-a- (*-l*, *-m*)	*-a-* (*-i*)	*-ō-* (*-n̲*, *-ḷ*, *-r*)
-ā- (*-m*)	*-ā-* (*-y*)	*-*ɸ*-* (*-ṭu*, *-r̲u*)
-u- (*-*ɸ, *-m*)	*-ō-* (*-y*)	
	(*-m*~*um*) ?	

(The number-gender markers before which the different person markers occur are given in brackets. Cf. tables II and III)

10 So-Called Appellative Verbs

10.0. In Tolkāppiyam, the primary classification of verbs is made into 'viṉai' and 'kuṟippu'[1] (8.2). According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, 'viṉai' is that in which tense is overtly marked and 'kuṟippu' is that in which tense is covertly marked[2]. The former class is of regular verbs. The Dravidian philologist Dr. Caldwell and scholars like Dr. P. S. Sastri prefer to call the latter as appellative verbs.[3]

10.1. '*Kuṟippu*' - **"covert aspect"**

Tamil grammarians consider the latter also a class of verbs, though there is no tense marker in them.[4] Taking tense is an important characteristic, which verbs, generally, have to satisfy[5] (8.1). According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, they denote tense but it is implied; but according to Cēṉāvaraiyar, what is implied in 'kuṟippu' is 'toliṉmai' - "the nature of the action"[6]. According to all the commentators the tense significance of these appellative verbs can be inferred from the context of their occurrence alone.

---

[1] TC, 201.

[2] TC, 198, 201.

[3] Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 477.
Sastri, P. S., HGT, p. 143.

[4] TC, 200, 201.
Naṉ., 348.

[5] TC, 198. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that a verb is that which does not take case marker but takes tense marker (8 1).

[6] Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 201.

10.2. Classification of the So-called Appellative Verbs

Like all other regular verbs (viṉai), Tolkāppiyaṉār divides 'kuṟippu' also into three classes (8.2):- (1) 'kuṟippu' belonging to the rational class, (2) 'kuṟippu' belonging to the non-rational class and (3) 'kuṟippu' belonging to the common class[7].

He attempts a different way of classification of 'kuṟippu' also along with regular verbs in Eccaviyal, where he classifies 'kuṟippu' according to the different persons in which they occur[8]. Dr. P. S. Sastri, in his commentary, writes that since the appellative verbs do not explicitly denote tense, they are of six kinds and the other verbs, which are latterly called 'terinilai vinai' are of eighteen kinds[9]. The six-way classification of 'kuṟippu' (appellative verbs) made from the point of view of person and number is shown below on page No. 164.

10.3. Treatment of the So-called Appellative Verbs in Tolkāppiyam

Tolkāppiyaṉār deals with the rational and the non-rational 'kuṟippu' in a few sūtras and attempts to classify the bases of their formation[10]. He enumerates a number of forms of the so-called appellative verbs in his work. According to him, the appellative verbs of the rational class are[11]:

those signifying,

1. possession

    e.g. *kacciṉaṉ, kaḻaliṉaṉ*, etc.

---

[7] TC, 201.

[8] TC: 427.

[9] Sastri, P. S., *A Commentary on* TC, 427.

[10] TC, 213-215, 220, 221.

[11] TC, 213, 214.

'Kuṟippu'

- First person
  - Sg.: *uṭaiyēṉ*, *nallēṉ*
  - Pl.: *uṭaiyēm*, *nallēm*
- Second person
  - Sg.: *uṭaiyai*, *nallai*
  - Pl.: *uṭaiyīr*, *nallīr*
- Third person
  - Sg.: *uṭaiyaṉ*, *nallāṉ*, *uṭaittu*, *nallatu*
  - Pl.: *uṭaiyar*, *nallār*, *uṭaiya*, *nalla*

2. location
   e.g. *puṟattaṉ*, *nilattaṉ*, etc.
3. similarity
   e.g. *poṉṉaṉṉaṉ*, *puliyaṉṉaṉ*, etc.

and 4. quality
   e.g. *kariyaṉ*, *periyaṉ*, etc.

and those that are formed from the stems denoting

1. *aṉmai* - "non-existence" (al-)
   e.g. *allaṉ*, *allaḷ*, *allar*, etc
2. *iṉmai* - "absence" (il-)
   e.g. *ilaṉ*, *ilaḷ*, *ilar*, etc
3. *uṇmai* - "existence or presence"
   e.g. *uḷaṉ*, *uḷaḷ*, *uḷar*, etc.

and 4. *vaṉmai* - "capacity"
   e.g. *vallaṉ*, *vallaḷ*, *vallar*, etc.

The appellative verbs of the non-rational class are:[12]

1. *iṉṟu*, *ila*, *uṭaiya*, *aṉṟu*, *uṭaittu*, *alla*, *uḷa*, etc.
2. those with stems denoting quality,
   e.g. *kariyatu*, *kariya*, etc.
3. those with stems denoting qualified limbs,
   e.g. *neṭuñcevittu*, *kuṟuntāṭṭu*, etc.

and 4. those with stems denoting comparison,
   e.g. *poṉṉaṉṉatu*, *poṉṉaṉṉa*, etc.

On the basis of the data available from Tolkāppiyam and its commentaries, an analysis of their real characteristics and a classification of these forms from the functional point of view are attempted in the following pages.

[12] TC, 220.

10.4. The Views of Various Scholars on Appellative Verbs

Almost all the Dravidian linguists, who attempted to describe the so-called appellative verbs, have treated them as a sub-class of verbs. Some of the important findings of different scholars, though they may not be fully acceptable from the modern point of view, are quoted here, since they are informative and are helpful for our further investigation.

Dr. Caldwell states "Any noun and any adjective may be converted into a verb in the more *ancient dialects* of each of the Dravidian languages, and in some connections even in the colloquial dialects, by simply suffixing to it the usual pro nominal fragments .... Tamil grammarians call the verbs here described 'Viṉaikkuṟippu' literally verb signs... .... I think the best name is that what was given by Beschi - viz, appellative verbs or conjugated appellatives".

Further he states "Appellative verbs are conjugated through every number and person but they are restricted to the present tense, for the idea of tense is excluded from them"[13].

Dr. P. S. Sastri opines, "in Tamil appellatives, the termination is invariably added directly to the nouns and they have no tense-elements in these forms. Hence I may say that the appellative verbs form a special feature of the Tamil language. Originally they may have been participial nouns and later on used as logical predicates"[14].

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar remarks "A type of verbs formed without any tense-distinction, from nouns, adjectives and non-verbal roots, with personal endings, the latter being

---

[13] Caldwell, R., op. cit., p. 477, 478.

[14] Sastri, P. S., *HGT*, p. 145.

immediately preceded in some instances by the infix *-att-* or *-iṉ*"[15].

Jules Bloch says "A type of derivation unequally distributed in Dravidian family but characteristic of it, is the attaching to the primary nouns (eventually under their oblique form) of terminations borrowed from the personal or demonstrative pronouns"[16].

10.5. Internal structure

Dr. Caldwell, L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar and Jules Bloch have succeeded, to some extent, in describing the structure of the appellative verbs, though they have not described the actual behaviour of these forms properly. It is evident that the so-called appellative verbs are formed from the nominal, adjectival or defective verbal (10.8) stems by the addition of different pronominal terminations, e.g.

kacciṉaṉ	*kaccu-iṉ-aṉ*	(noun-stem)
kariyaṉ	*kari-y-aṉ*	(adjectival stem)
ilaṉ	*il-aṉ*	(defective verbal stem)

The attempt of Dr. P. S. Sastri to trace them from the origin of participial nouns does not hold good, since participial nouns are of verbal origin and are verbs used nominally (as nouns; 5.4-7).

10.6. External Distribution

Dr. M. Varadarajanār after a prolonged study, analysing the verbal and non-verbal characteristics of these forms proclaims, "it may be concluded that only nouns functioning as

---

15 Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., "MOTV", An., 33 (1938), p. 776.

16 Bloch, Jules, GSD, p. 37.

predicates are called 'kuṟippuviṉai'. They may be conveniently termed as predicative nouns"[17]. He writes in an article also that there is nothing called 'kuṟippuviṉai' but only a few nouns are from the functional point of view considered as 'kuṟippu'[18].

One has to agree with the views of Dr. M. Varadarājaṉār, especially in the case of 'kuṟippu' formed from nominal and adjectival stems, since those forms are true nouns. They may be considered as a sub-class of nouns, which are capable of being inflected for different persons, taking different pronominal terminations. They may, according to the terminology of Jules Bloch, be identified as pronominalised nouns[19]. But Bloch's term is, here, employed in a restricted sense as not to include the defective verbs, which are also considered appellative verbs.

The scholars whose observations are cited in the preceding pages, do not at all deny the existence of a kind of verbs called appellative verbs. Why do they preserve such a sub-class of verbs in their treatments, when many of the appellative verbs can be assigned to nouns? It is worthy of notice that there are a few forms of the so-called appellative verbs which function as verbs rather than as nouns. Though they do not take tense marker and are not formed from the regular verbal stems, their function is mostly verbal. They may, here, be identified as defective verbs.

---

17 Varadarajaṉār, M., The Origin and Development of Verbs in Tamil, p. 52.

18 ———————, "Kuṟippuviṉai", *TCult.*, VIII (1959), p. 92.

19 Bloch, Jules, op. cit., p. 37 ff.

Here the term pronominalised noun is used in a more restricted sense. Bloch has coined this term to cover all the so-called appellative verbs whereas, here in our usage, the defective verbs are excluded from the pronominalised nouns.

10.6.1. Different Classes of Appellative Verbs

Thus from the modern point of view, the so-called appellative verbs may be classified into two groups. The first one is the group of pronominalised nouns and the second is the group of defective verbs.

10.7. Pronominalised Nouns (2.12).

All the commentators except Tevvaccilaiyār cite the same examples like *kariya*, *kariyatu*, etc., for the so-called appellative verbs and for the qualitative nouns. Thus it is evident that even the commentators could not make a clear-cut distinction between the two. The qualitative nouns are formed from the adjectival stems. They function as true nouns. So also, the so-called appellative verbs are formed from the adjectival stems and behave like pure nouns.

According to the general structure of the Tamil language, verbs are not formed from the nouns. Thus, though the appellative verbs formed from nominal stems, resemble verbs by their taking various pronominal terminations, this characteristic alone does not qualify them to be verbs. They do not take tense marker, but the elements like *-tt-* or *-iṉ-* may intervene between the stems and terminations, e.g. *puṟa-tt-aṉ*, *kaccu-iṉ-aṉ*, etc. These are capable of occurring as subjects and of taking case markers. They are capable of being modified by the adjectival participles (13.16) as all other nouns[20].

e.g. *nāṭaṉ-ai-k kaṇṭēṉ*	"master of the kingdom saw I"
kaṟṟa nāṭaṉ vantāṉ	"learned master of the kingdom came"

[20] TC, 433.

(*nāṭaṉ* - pronominalised noun formed from the noun-stem *nāṭu*; *-ai-* case marker; *kaṟṟa-* adjectival participle).

10.8. Defective Verbs

A few of the so-called appellative verbs are functionally veritable verbs. They are formed from the stems *al-*, *il-*, *uḷ-*, *uṭai-*, *aṉ-*, etc. These stems are neither nominal nor adjectival but are mid-way between the adjectival and verbal stems. Since they do not occur as imperatives as the stems of the regular verbs, they may be identified as defective verbal stems[21]. The defective verbs are formed by the addition of different pronominal terminations to the stems like the above ones. The following are the few defective verbs that are found to occur in Tolkāppiyam.

aṉṟu (TE, 165), *alla* (TC, 18), *ilaḷ* (Poruḷiyal, 12), *iṉṟu* (TE, 5), *ila* (TE, 44), *ilai* (Kaṟpiyal, 17), *illai* (TE, 46, 63), *uḷar* (TP, 21), *uṇṭu* (TE, 37), *uḷa* (TE, 33), *aṉṉa* (TE, 2, 86), etc.

The tense is not marked in these verbs. Further, it is the peculiarity of the defective verbs, as a whole, that they cannot be conjugated for negative voice. In this connection, it must be remembered that *al-* and *il-* are already negative stems (15.5). The verbal nouns of class one and two cannot be formed from the defective verbal stems (5.2, 3, 7).

The formation and the gender-distinction of a few defective verbs are exhibited below.

---

21 Since these stems are inflected for person and number-gender, they are not "particles", which are, by definition, uninflected in nature.

Stems	Masculine Sg.	Feminine Sg.	Epicene Pl.	Neuter Sg.	Neuter Pl.
al-	*all-an̲*	*all-aḷ*	*all-ar*	*an̲-r̲u*[22]	*all-a*
il-	*il-an̲*	*il-aḷ*	*il-ar*	*in̲-r̲u*[23]	*il-a*
uḷ-	*uḷ-an̲*	*uḷ-aḷ*	*uḷ-ar*	*uṇ-ṭu*[24]	*uḷ-a*
uṭai-	*uṭai-y-an̲*	*uṭai-y-aḷ*	*uṭai-y-ar*	*uṭai-t-tu*	*uṭai-y-a*
an̲-	*an̲n̲-an̲*	*an̲n̲-aḷ*	*an̲n̲-ar*	*an̲n̲-atu*	*an̲n̲-a*

These and similar other forms may be classified along with verbs, under a sub-class of defective verbs, in support of which the following arguments are cited.

1. Tolkāppiyan̲ār explicitly states that 'kuṟippu'- the so called appellative verbs also take (or appear with or govern) direct objects[25]. The forms that are classified as pronominalised nouns do not take or appear with a direct object; but a few defective verbs take direct objects.

e.g.	*yām entai ilam*	"We do not have our father"
	yām entai uṭaiyam	"We have our father"
	avan̲ puli an̲n̲an̲	"He resembles tiger"

2. These defective verbal forms as they are listed here, occur only as predicates.

e.g.	*avan̲ allan̲*	"He is not"
	atu an̲r̲u	"It is not"
	avar ilar	"They are not"

[22] *al-* ~ *an̲-* ; *-tu* ~ *-r̲u*

[23] *il-* ~ *in̲-* ; *-tu* ~ *-r̲u*

[24] *uḷ-* ~ *uṇ-* ; *-tu* ~ *-ṭu*

[25] TC, 72. Taking a direct object is one of the characteristics of the transitive verb.

These verbs do not occur as nouns, unless they take case marker, they are modified in form, or they are being preposed by some nouns[26].

3. Usually the verbs in Tamil are modified by the adverbial participles, i.e., they occur as complements of adverbial participles[27]. Like the regular verbs, these defective verbs are also modified by the adverbial participles.

e.g. *peṟṟu uṭaiyaṉ* "having received possesses he"
koṭuttu uḷaṉ "having given is he"
(*peṟṟu* and *koṭuttu* are adverbial participles)

4. The non-finite verbs can also be formed from the stems from which these defective verbs are formed[28]-

e.g. *al- aṉṟi* (PN, 46) ; *allā* (PN, 21; TC, 35, 84)
il- iṉṟi (PN, 2; TE, 237) ; *illā* (PN, 27; TE, 17; TC, 18)

---

26 As regular verbs, these defective verbs are also capable of functioning as subjects and of being used as nouns, when they are modified in form or being preposed by some nouns. When they function as nouns they may be treated as a sub-class of "participial nouns" - nouns formed of the finite verbs (5.7).

1. As Participial Nouns Modified in form

allatu (TE, 326) *allaṉa* (TP, 13)
aṉṉavai (TE, 482) *uḷḷatu* (TC, 314)
allōr (PN, 343) *illōṉ* (PN, 69), *uṭaiyar* (PN, 223)

2. As Participial Nouns Preposed by some Noun

poruḷ-ilaṉ vantāṉ "He who has no property came"
pukaḻ-uṭaiyar periyar "Those who have fame are great"
kiḷanta alla (TE, 483). "Those which are not mentioned"

27 TC, 432.

28 TE, 237, 372.

uḷ- uḷḷa (PN, 190)

uṭai- uṭaiya (PN, 11)

5. The defective verbs are substitutable by verbs and not by nouns, i e.. their slots can be filled up only by other pure verbs.

e.g.	*avaṉ vantu ilaṉ*	"He has not come"
	avaṉ vantu ceṉṟāṉ	"Having come he went"
	avaṉ poruḷ uṭaiyaṉ	"He possesses property"
	avaṉ poruḷ tantāṉ	"He gave property"
	avaṉ nallavaṉ allaṉ	"He is not good"
	avaṉ nallavaṉ āyiṉāṉ	"He became good"

Thus it may be concluded that the so-called appellative verbs are a group of some pronominalised nouns and defective verbs.

10.9. *Yār and Evaṉ*

The predicate function of these two forms are discussed in Tolkāppiyam[29]. The grammarian says that the interrogative predicate '*yār*' can occur with the three genders of the rational class and that the predicate '*evaṉ*' can occur with the two genders of the non-rational class[30]. Thus according to h m the following examples may be cited to show their distribution.

avaṉ yār	"who is he"
avaḷ yār	"who is she"

---

[29] TC, 210, 217.

[30] The three genders of the rational class are the masculine singular, the feminine singular and the epicene plural and the two genders of the non-rational class are the neuter singular and the neuter plural.

avar yār	"who are they"
atu evaṉ	"what is that"
avai evaṉ	"what are they"

Since these two forms are discussed along with verbs and since their predicative function is emphasized by Tolkāppiyaṉār, the commentators think that the author might have considered them as belonging to the appellative verbs. Here, it must be pointed out that, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, not only verbs but also nouns can occur as predicates (6.6.2.)

It is evident from their usage that at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, they were genderless and each of them was restricted to different classes (2.2).

Whatever their usages might be, it is evident that they are formed from the interrogative roots *yā-* and *e-*. Tolkāppiyaṉār includes the interrogative pronouns also in the list of predicates[81]. Thus it can be inferred that '*yār*' and '*evaṉ*' were genderless interrogative pronouns used as predicates (3.11).

[81] TC, 66.

11 Imperatives

11.0. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not treat the imperatives separately; but fortuitously refers to the imperative sinification by the term 'ēval' in 'Eḻuttatikāram'[1], when he speaks about sandhi changes that occur after the so-called expletive particle -miyā and after the -a ending optative verbs - both according to him with imperative significations.

In this chapter a study on the imperatives is attempted on the basis of the stray evidences from Tolkāppiyam and on the basis of the interpretations posited by the commentators.

11.1. Second Person Verbs and Imperatives

Teyvaccilaiyār interprets the sūtra,[2] in which Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the second person singular verbs of the pattern '*ceyyāy*' are used as those of '*cey*' pattern also, that the paradigm '*ceyyāy*' with final -*āy* may occur as the 'imperative' second person singular pattern '*cey*'. Thus he makes it explicit that the forms of the patterns '*ceyyāy*' and '*cey*' may occur as imperatives. Further, in a different place, where Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates the second personal terminations[3], Teyvaccilaiyār, remarks that since the author uses the term 'muṉṉilai' - "second person" and not 'muṉṉilai viṉai' - "second person verbs" to refer to the finite verbs that occur in the second person, they may include the verbs not only those of

---

[1] TE, 210, 224.

[2] TC, 450.

[3] Tey, *A Commentary on TC.*, 216.

indicative signification but also those of imperative signification. Thus it is evident that Tolkāppiyaṉār does not distinguish the imperatives from the second person verbs. Later-day scholar Venkatarajulu Reddiyar also explicitly states that Tolkāppiyaṉār includes the imperatives under the second person verbs[4].

It is, thus, obvious that the imperatives have reference only to the second person. It must be pointed out here that all the imperatives occur always in the future. This fact is sporadically referred to by the commentators and by the later-day grammarians[5]. Thus it can be safely concluded that the imperatives have reference only to the future tense.

11.2. Imperatives of 'cey' Pattern

e.g. *kēḷ* (PN, 35), *uṇ*, *tiṉ*, etc.
āku (PN, 40)

According to Cēṉāvaraiyar, the forms of the '*cey*' pattern are the shortened forms of '*ceyyāy*' pattern[6]. As this interpretation cannot be evidenced even from the historical point of view, it is not acceptable to the modern scholars. It may be described that the forms of '*cey*' pattern, by nature, occur as imperatives and that they are not the shortened forms of '*ceyyāy*' pattern.

Teyvaccilaiyār explicitly points out that the verbal roots, in Tamil, occur as imperatives[7]. 'Cey' is the pattern of verbal roots in Tamil.

---

4 Venkatarajulu Reddiyar, "Eval Viṉaiyamaippu", SPV (1961), p. 323.

5 Naṉ., 145.

6 Ceṉā., *A Commentary on TC*, 450.

7 Tey., *A Commentary on TC*, 216.

Here the imperatives must be distinguished from the verbal roots that occur as stems of the verbs and from the verbal nouns of class two (5.2). According to Naccinārk-kiniyar, the occurrence of a high stress in the verbal roots changes them into imperatives[8]. Venkatarajulu Reddiyar also opines that in the second person singular all the verbal roots with high stress occur as imperatives[9]. Though, to some extent, this view may be accepted, yet there is much to be studied and investigated on the accentual system of the Tamil language, to decide this matter[10].

At present, the imperatives of '*cey*' pattern may be distinguished from other verbal roots or stems by positing a zero morpheme to represent the imperative signification. It is worthy of notice that Prof. Emeneau, in his description of Kolami language sets up a zero to represent the imperative ending[11]. In Kannada also, where the verbal roots occur as second person singular imperatives, the suffix is described by positing a zero[12]. Thus the imperatives of '*cey*' pattern may be described as *cey-ϕ*

cey	verbal root or stem.
-*ϕ*	Singular imperative marker.

11.3. Imperatives of 'ceyyāy' Pattern

Teyvaccilaiyār makes it clear that the verbs of the '*ceyyāy*' pattern may also be used as imperatives in the place of the forms of '*cey*' pattern.

---

8 Nac., *A Commentary on TC*, 226.

9 Venkatarajulu Reddiyar, V., op cit., p. 323.

10 It is interesting to note that Dr. Sathasivam has contributed a valuable article on the accentual system of Tamil language. (Accentual system of Old Tamil. Mī. Ma. Ma, 401-420).

11 Emeneau, M. B., *Kolami, A Dravidian Lauguage*, p. 73.

12 Shankara Bhat, D. N., "Kannada Verb Morphology", *BDCRI*, XXI, p. 13.

e.g., *kēḷāy* (NT, 61) *kēḷ āy*

vārāy (NT, 250) *vāṟ-āy*

kēḷ-and *vār*- are verbal stems and -*āy* is singular imperative marker.

The singular imperative termination -*āy* need not be segmented into parts, since -*āy*, as a whole, functions as the singular imperative marker. It occurs immediately after the verbal stems, whereas the second person pronominal termination of the indicative verbs -*āy*, which may be analysed into -*ā-y* (second person marker + singular number marker, 9.6.3), occurs after the tense markers. It must be pointed out here that according to Tolkāppiyaṉār -*āy*, the termination of the second person, is common to both the indicative and imperative verbs of the second person. In the present study the indicative termination -*ā-y* and the imperative termination -*āy* are distinguished from each other (9 6 3).

Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar point out that the forms of 'ceyyāy' pattern occur as negatives also[13]. Cēṉāvaraiyar rightly describes them by stating that in the negative second person verbs, the negative marker -*ā*- is incorporated[14]. Thus the second person negative verbs of the '*ceyyāy*' pattern may be segmented as *cey-ā-a-y*.

iyāy	(PN. 209)	*ī* (-*y*) -*ā-a-y*
añcāy	(PN. 139)	*añc* (*u*) -*ā-a-y*

cey, ī, añcu: verbal stems; -*ā*- negative marker; -*a*- second person marker; -*y* singular number marker (9.6.3; 15.8). Thus it is evident that the imperatives of the '*ceyyāy*' pattern are different from the negatives of the '*ceyyāy*' pattern.

13 Cēṉā., *A Commentary on TC*, 450.
Nac op. cit., 450.

14 Cēṉā., *A Commentary on TC*, 450.

It is of interest to note that in the forms of the '*ceyyāy* pattern, whether they are imperatives or negatives, the tense is not marked.

11 4. **Imperatives like *vanticiṉ*, *kaṇṭiciṉ*. etc.**

Tolkāppiyaṉār includes *-ciṉ* in the list of second person expletive particles[15]. The actual form of this so-called particle is *-iciṉ* (17.10 13). In Caṅkam literature, it is found to occur in the singular imperatives also. It is evident that the imperatives in which this termination is found, are formed from the adverbial participles of '*ceytu*' pattern (13.3) by the addition of *-iciṉ*. *Iciṉ* may be segmented as *i-cu-iṉ*; *i-* is the shortened form of the obsolete auxiliary verb *ī*; *-cu-* is the palatalised shape of the formative *-ku-* (17.10.13); *-iṉ* (<*eṉ* <*ēṉ*) is a particle, originally an interrogative used to invite attention (11.6). A zero may be set up to indicate the imperative marker in between the formative *-cu-* and the particle *-iṉ*.

The above type of imperatives may be analysed as follows:

vanticiṉ	(PN, 125; AK, 175)	*vantu-i-c(u)-φ-iṉ*
kaṇṭiciṉ	(AK, 105)	*kaṇṭu-i-c(u)-φ-iṉ*
uraitticiṉ	(PN, 167)	*uraittu-i-c(u)-φ-iṉ*

The tense of the adverbial participles of '*ceytu*' pattern is past only in relation to the tense of the auxiliary verb *ī* (>*i*), which, here, occurs only in the future tense (13.3).

11.5. **Imperatives like *moḻimō*, *uraimō*, etc.**

Tolkāppiyaṉār describes *-mō* as an expletive particle of second person[16], for the occurrence of which the commentators cite the examples *uraimō* (AK, 66), *moḻimō*, (Kuṟu., 2),

[15] TC., 274.

[16] Ditto.

etc. These and other such forms occur as imperatives in Caṅkam literature. L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar also rightly classifies them under the imperatives[17]. The forms of the above type may be segmented here.

uḷḷumō (PN, 48)	*moḻimō*
uḷḷum-ō	*moḻim-ō*
	moḻiyum-ō
uḷ-um-ō	*moḻi-um-ō*

-um ~ *-m* denotes plural imperative; *-ō* is a particle used to invite attention. It is worthy of notice that Jules Bloch also points out that a suffix *-m* is used in the termination of imperative in ancient Tamil[18].

One may rightly point out that these forms have mostly reference to singular number and rarely to the plural. It may be assumed here that *-um* ~ *-m* was originally (in the pre-Tolkāppiyam period) a plural imperative marker but later on, in addition to its original usage, it began to be used as honorific singular (imperative) marker; yet it has not lost its imperative signification.

Here it is evident that Tolkāppiyaṉār arrives at the so-called expletive particle *-mō* by wrongly segmenting the plural or the honorific singular imperative with the particle *-ō* at their end.

11.6. **Imperatives like *kēṇmiṉ*, *ceṉmiṉ*, etc.**

Tolkāppiyaṉār treats *-miṉ* as one of the terminations of the second person plural verbs[19]. It is evident from Caṅkam

[17] Ramaswami Aiyar, "MOTV", An., 33 (1938), p. 771.

[18] Bloch, Jules, *GSD*, p. 58.

[19] TC, 224.

literature that it occurs only in the plural imperative verbs. Later-day grammar Naṉṉūl clearly states that it occurs only in the plural imperatives and that too occurs in the future only[20].

e.g.	*cērmiṉ*	(PN, 9)
	ōmpumiṉ	(PN, 87)
	niṟumiṉ	(PN, 152)

niṟumiṉ	*cērmiṉ*
niṟum-iṉ	*cērm-iṉ*
	cērum-iṉ
niṟ u)-um-iṉ	*cēr-um-iṉ*

-*um* ~ -*m* is imperative plural marker.

-*iṉ* (< *eṉ* < *ēṉ*) is a particle used to invite attention. Dr. Varadarajaṉār identifies -*iṉ* as the modified form of *eṉ*, which is originally, according to him, an interrogative particle[21].

11.7. **Imperatives like *kēṇmiya*, *ceṉmiyā*, etc.***

Talkāppiyaṉār refers to the imperative forms with final -*miya* in 'Eḻuttatikāram' and treats -*miyā* as an expletive particle of the second person in Iṭaiyiyal[22]. For the occurrence of this, the commentators cite the example *kēṇmiya*, *ceṉmia*, etc., which may be segmented and traced back to their constituents as follows.

kēṇmiyā	*ceṉmiya*
kēṇm-yā	*ceṉm-yā*
kēḷum-yā	*cellum-yā*
kēḷ-um-yā	*cel-um-yā*

[20] Naṉ., 145, 337.

[21] Varadarajaṉār, M., *Moḻiyiyaṟ Kaṭṭuraikal*, p. 249.

[22] TE, 224, TC, 274.

* This pattern of imperatives is not found to occur in any of the ancient literature.

-m is honorific singular imperative marker ; *yā* is a particle used to invite attention. It may be pointed out here that Tolkāppiyaṉār includes *yā* also in the list of expletive particles (TC, 279).

It is, here, evident that *-miyā* is considered as an expletive particle by wrongly segmenting the imperative verbs taking the particle *yā*.

11.8. **Imperatives like *ceymmē*, *uraimē*, etc.**

Tolkāppiyaṉār mentions that the verbs with final *-ē* preceded by suitable consonants may occur in the second person[23]. The commentators consider *-m* as the only consonant for the occurrence of *-ē* finally in the second person verbs and cite *niṉme* (NT, 300) *ceymme* (PN, 46), etc., as examples. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not indicate whether such forms occur as indicatives or as imperatives. In Caṅkam literature these *-ē* ending forms occur as imperatives only. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar also treats the forms of the above type under the imperatives[24].

niṉmē	*ceṉmē*
niṉm-ē	*ceṉm-ē*
nillum-ē	*cellum-ē*
nil-um-ē	*cel-um-ē*

-m denotes honorific singular imperative significance; *-ē* is an expletive particle used to invite attention.

The structure and the significance of the forms like the above were not recognized and identified properly, at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār.

[23] TC, 451.

[24] Ramaswami Aiyar, op. cit, p. 771.

11.9 Imperatives like *koṭumati*, *koṇmati*, etc.

Tolkāppiyaṉār includes *-mati* also in the list of second person expletive particles[25], for the occurrence of which, in Caṅkam literature, the examples *koṭumati* (PN, 163), *koṇmati* (PN, 200), etc., may be cited.

A scholar ventures to segment the so-called particle *-mati* into *-m-ati*[26]. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran remarks that the expletive *mati* consists of more than one suffix: *-m* (plural) + *a* (formative) + *-tu* (formative) + *i* (second person singular)[27].

The segmentation of *-mati* into *-m-ati* permitted, since it stands in accordance with the patterns already described.

11.10. Imperatives of '*ceym*' or '*ceyyum*' pattern

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not refer to the imperatives of '*ceym*' or *ceyyum*' pattern in his work, but they are found to occur in Caṅkam literature. Since all the types of plural or honorific singular imperative verbs treated above are formed from this pattern of imperatives with an addition of some particles, a few forms of this pattern are referred to, here, in this study.

koṇm	(PN, 152)	*koṇ-m*
ceym	(PN. 46)	*cey-m*
vārum	(Pari.; 14)	*vār-um*

The '*ceyyum*' type of imperatives is rare in Caṅkam texts but the '*ceym*' type of imperatives is frequently found.

---

[25] TC, 274

[26] Eḷayaperumal, M., "The Mār Suffix in Early Tamil Literature" *IL*, 1958, 177-181.

[27] Meenakshisundaran, T. P., *A History of the Tamil Language*, p. 90.

11.11. Imperatives

Number	Serial number	Verbal Stems	Imperative Markers	Other Particles, if any	Sūtra
Singular	1	*kēḷ*	*ϕ*		TC, 450
,,	2	*kēḷ*	*-āy*		TC, 450
,,	3	*vantu-icu*	*-ϕ-*	*-iṉ*	TC, 274
Plural or Honorific Sg.	4	*uḷ*	*-um-*	*-ō*	TC, 274
,,	5	*ōmp(u)*	*-um-*	*-iṉ*	TC, 224
,,	6	*kēṇ- (kēḷ)*	*-m-*	*-yā*	TC, 274
,,	7	*cey*	*-m-*	*-ē*	TC, 451
,,	8	*koṇ- (koḷ)*	*-m-*	*-ati-*	TC, 274
,,	9	*cey*	*-m*		Caṅkam literature
		cey	*-um*		

Thus it may be concluded that *-āy* ~ *-ϕ* occurs as singular imperative marker and that *-um* ~ *-m* occurs as plural or honorific singular marker. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not recognize *-um* ~ *-m* as an imperative marker. In the ancient Tamil the particle like *-ō*, *-ē*, *-yā*, *-ati* or *-iṉ* was added to the imperatives to invite attention or to express the command emphatically. Some of these may be identified as expletive particles (17.10).

Dr. M. Varadarajaṉār considers that *-yā*, *-ē*, *-ō*, *-en* (> *-iṉ*) are expletive particles or particles used to draw the attention of hearers and that they must have been originally interrogative particles[26].

[26] Varadarajaṉār, M., op. cit., p. 242-252.

Pope, G. U., describes "eṉ pēril iraṅkumēṉ! 'Pray have mercy on me'. Here *-ēṉ* = pray do, is either for *ē* emphatic; or from *ēṉ* = why not?" (A Hand Book of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language, p. 153) This description further gleans the origin of the particle *-iṉ* (<*eṉ* <*ēṉ*) which is found to occur in *vanticiṉ* and *keṇmiṉ* types of imperatives.

12 Impersonal Verbs

12.0. Tolkāppiyaṉār gives a list of verbs common to both the rational and non-rational classes (8.2). The second person verbs, the optatives, the adverbial participles, the verbs denoting negation, the form 'ceymmaṉa',. the 'ceyyum" pattern finite verbs, the adjectival participles and the word 'vēṟu' are included in the list[1].

The second person verbs are already discussed under the personal finite verbs (9.6, 7). Though the non-finite verbs (the adverbial participles and the adjectival participles) do not denote person and number-gender like the impersonal verbs, they are discussed in a separate chapter since they occur only as adjuncts to verbs or nouns, whereas the other kinds of words in the list occur as predicates.

The verbs which do not denote person and number-gender, but occur as predicates may be identified as impersonal verbs. Their person, number, etc., may be identified on the basis of the person, number, etc., of the subjects with which they occur.

The impersonal verbs which are discussed in this chapter are the optatives, the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs and the verbs denoting negation. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the forms of the ceymmaṉa pattern and the word *vēṟu* are also impersonal verbs. They are also studied and their characteristics are assessed in this chapter.

---

[1] TC, 222.

12. I. Optative Verbs

12.1.0. The optative verbs, in Tamil, convey request, wish, command, injunction, etc. Tolkāppiyaṉār terms them as viyaṅkōḷ[1]. 'Viyam' means 'ēval' - "command". When a command is expressed in the polite form of a wish it is termed as an optative. This is what Tolkāppiyaṉār means when he uses the phrase 'ēval kaṇṇiya viyaṅkōḷ kiḷavi'[2] - "the optative expressing the imperative signification".

12.1.1. **References to Optative Signification**

In a sūtra, Tolkāppiyaṉār, refers to the optatives with final *-a* in Eḷuttatikāram, when he deals with the sandhi changes[3]. In the immediately following sūtra, he says that *-ya* of *vāḻiya* may be dropped[4]. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not mention that the form *'vāḻiya'* is an optative verb; but all the commentators are agreed in considering it an optative verb.

In Iṭaiyiyal, he refers to the optative signification, when he says that *-mā* is an expletive of 'viyaṅkōḷ' - "optative",[5]

---

[1] TE, 210; TC, 45, 222, 226, 273.

It is interesting to note that Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar divide the optatives into two classes : those which convey the imperative signification and those which do not convey the imperative signification. Such a classification of optative verbs strengthens the definition stated in the begining (12.1.0).

[2] TE, 210.

[3] Ditto.

[4] TE, 211.

[5] TC, 273.

e.g. *puṟkai uṇkamā koṟkaiyōṉē* "O Lord of Korkai! let us take gruel"

12.1.2. Usages and Restrictions

Tolkāppiyaṉār sanctions the usage of the optative verbs in the rational and non-rational classes[6].

e.g. *avaṉ vāḻka*	"May he prosper"	
avaḷ vāḻka	"May she prosper"	
avar vāḻka	"May they prosper"	(rational)
atu vāḻka	"May it prosper"	
avai vāḻka	"May they prosper"	(non-rational)

Further, Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the optative verbs do not occur in the first and second persons[7]. Thus it is evident that the use of optative verbs was restricted to the third person only at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār.

But in Caṅkam literature, the optatives appear to have been used in the first and second persons also, e g., *vāḻiyar yāṉ* (PN, 365) "May I live long"; *nī vāḻiyar* (PN, 137) "May you live long"

To explain such usages, the commentator Cēṉāvaraiyar points out that the sūtra, which restricts the usage of the optatives, employs a phrase '*maṉṉātu ākum*', which means "does not stand permanently" and that, therefore, it does not embody an absolute rule[8]. Perhaps this may be a much better explanation than the suggestion recently made by Dr. P. S. Sastri, that the verse containing the optatives used in the

[6] TC, 222.

[7] TC, 226.

[8] Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 226.

first and second person might have been composed after the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār[9].

An argument by way of strengthening the view of Cēṉāvaraiyar may also be cited here. Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates eight kinds of common verbs (8.2) in a sūtra[10]. In the following two sūtras he discusses the second person verbs which are restricted to second person only[11]. Immediately after that he mentions in a separate sūtra that the remaining common verbs occur in all the three persons and five genders[12]. Then follows the sūtra that restricts the use of optatives to the third person[13]. Thus, by the way in which the usages of these verbs are discussed in Tolkāppiyam, it can be inferred that Tolkāppiyaṉār is prone to think that, though it may be the common feature for the optatives to occur in the third person, they may also rarely occur in the first and second persons.

Venkatarajulu Reddiyar suggests that since Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly refers to the optatives with final *-a* only in his work, he means them only, when he restricts the use of the optatives to the third person; that in the first and second persons the optatives with some other endings may occur and that the occurrence of the optatives with final *-ka* in the persons forbidden by Tolkāppiyaṉār, is against the rules of traditional grammar. It must be pointed out here that Reddiyar interprets the optatives with *-a* ending as the optatives with the suffix *-ka*, e.g., *celka, vāḻka*, etc.[14] However, the explanation of

---

9 Sastri, P. S., *A Commentary* on TC, 226.

10 TC, 222.

11 TC, 223, 224.

12 TC, 225.

13 TC, 226.

14 Venkatarajulu Reddiyar, V., "Viyaṅkōḷ" AORM, IV (1939-1940), p. 1-24.

Reddiyar does not elucidate the grammatical rule further and it has to be interpreted only in the light of the arguments cited already.

Tolkāppiyaṉār sanctions the use of the same optatives as predicates, even when the subjects consist of both the rational and the non-rational nouns'[15].

e.g. *āvum āyaṉum celka* "May the cow and the herd go"

Such a usage is possible, as there is, in them, no pronominal termination to restrict them to particular numbers and genders.

12.1.3. **Various Forms of Optatives**

Though Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the *-a* ending optatives, he does not enunciate their actual forms. For them, the commentators and Veṅkaṭarajulu Reddiyar cite the following examples : *celka, vāḻiya, vāḻka,* etc[16] As mentioned earlier, the form *vāḻiya* referred to by Tolkāppiyaṉār may be taken as an optative verb.

It is worthy of notice that Tolkāppiyaṉār uses the forms *muṭika* (TP, 48), *ōmpal* (TC, 13), *orāal* (TC, 443), *ākiyar* (TP. 79) etc., as optatives.

Naccinārkkiṉiyar interprets the form *vēṇṭum* which occurs after the verbal nouns like *ceytal, uṇṇal, ōtal,* etc., as an optative verb[17], e.g. *cāttaṉ ōtal vēṇṭum* "Cāttaṉ shall learn". L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar also agrees that this kind of usage, in Tamil, occurs in the optative functions[18]. However this

[15] TC, 45.

[16] Venkatarajulu Reddiyar, V., Ibid.

[17] Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 228.

[18] Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., "MOTV", An., 33 (1938), p. 772.

interpretation has to be studied and investigated with the help of sufficient data, before arriving at a decisive conclusion.

12 1.4. Structural Analysis

It is evident that the optatives are formed from the verbal stems by adding certain suffixes (optative markers). The optatives take neither tense marker nor any pronominal terminations. The later-day grammarian Pavaṇanti assigns them to the future tense.

The optative verbal forms referred to and used by Tolkāppiyaṉār may be segmented and the constituent morphemes may be identified here.

vāḻka	*vāḻ-ka*
vāḻiya	*vāḻ-iya*
ōmpal	*ōmp(u)-al*
orāal	*or-āal*
ākiyar	*āk(u)-iyar*

According to Naccinārkkiṉiyar *vēṇṭum* may be segmented as *vēṇṭ(u)-um* and *-um* may be identified as an optative marker.

Thus, the allomorphs of the optative marker *-a*, according to the language of Tolkāppiyam are *-ka, iya, -al* and *-āl.*

12. II. Finite Verbs of 'Ceyyum' Pattern

12.2.0. Tolkāppiyaṉār speaks about the finite verbs of the 'ceyyum' pattern in a few sūtras[1]. This pattern of finite verbs, in Tamil, is peculiar both in structure and behaviour. They are formed by adding the suffix -um directly to the verbal stems and they do not take any pronominal termination. Thus, since there are no markers to exhibit person and number-gender in them, they are of the impersonal type of finite verbs.

eg.	*kol-um*	(PN, 307)
	uḷ-um	(PN, 48)
	añc(u)-um	(PN, 20)

12.2.1. **Distribution**

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern do not occur with the first and second person subjects and with the epicene plural subject of the third person[2]. Thus the use of 'ceyyum' pattern of finite verbs was, at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, restricted to the third person with an exception in the case of epicene plural. For example,

avaṉ tarum	"He gives"
avaḷ tarum	"She gives"
atu tarum	"It gives"
avai tarum	"They give" (non-rational)

[1] TC, 173, 227, 238, 240, 242.

[2] TC, 227.

Since the verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern are not restricted to particular genders and numbers, they are capable of occurring as predicates for nouns of different genders and numbers as masculine singular, feminine singular, neuter singular and neuter plural. This characteristic has been well recognized and described by the other indigenous grammarians also (Naṉ., 348).

12.2.2. Tense

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern denote present tense[3]. It is evident that the terminal suffix *-um* is not a pronominal termination, since it does not restrict the use of the 'ceyyum' pattern verb to a specific gender or number. One can rightly assume that it is a tense marker. At the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār it might have mainly denoted the present tense meaning (14.1, 9).

But in a later sūtra Tolkāppiyaṉār shows that the finite verbs of the present tense (i. e., the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern) were used to denote aoristic significations which may be said to be true of the past, the present and the future[4].

Teyvaccilaiyār indicates that the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs occur in the future tense also[5]. Later-day grammarian Pavaṇanti also points out that they denote both the present and the future tenses[6]. So, it can be inferred that the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern might have begun to denote aoristic future tense at a very early date. Only at a period, later than Caṅkam age, they began to denote the distinctive future tense.

---

[3] TC, 173, 227.
It is interesting to note that at the time of Pavaṇanti *-um* denoted the present and the future tense (Naṉ., 145) and that in modern Tamil, it denotes the future only.

[4] TC, 240.

[5] Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 220.

[6] Naṉ., 145.

12.2.3. Special Usages

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that these finite verbs should be used to denote things which are common to all times - past, present and future[7].

e.g., *malai niṟkum* "The hill stands"

tiṅkaḷ iyaṅkum "The moon moves"

In this connection, the observations of L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar are worth quoting. He says, "Though the term nikaḻkālam (present tense) is used by TC, 227 for the force of these finite endings, there is little doubt that in view of the sūtra 240 which explicitly defines the use of these forms to denote what is true of the past, present and the future alike, the sense in which the author of this early grammar used nikaḻkālam denoted a kind of "habitual" or "universal" present which was not distinctively restricted to the actual present tense alone but was used to denote actions that were true of all times[8]".

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the verbs of the same pattern are also used in a general statement to denote the fruit of an extraordinary action, even though a particular man has not done it[9].

e.g., *Tavañ ceytāṉ tuṟakkum pukum*

"He who does penance reaches heaven"

Tāyai-k-koṉṟāṉ nirayam pukum

"He who kills his mother enters hell"

---

[7] TC, 240.

[8] Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., "MOIV", Ar., 33 (1938), p. 766, 767,

[9] TC, 242.

12.2.4. Rare Function of ('Ceyyum' Pattern Finite Verbs in) Determining Gender

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern may indicate the particular singular gender (i. e., masculine or feminine gender) in the rational class, if they are suited to it[10].

e.g., *Cāttaṉ yāḻ-eḻūum*
"Cattan plays upon the fiddle"
(rational masculine singular)

Cātti cāntu-araikkum
"Catti grinds sandal-wood"
(rational feminine singular)

In the ancient Tamil country only males used to play the fiddle and only females used to grind sandal-wood.

The examples cited above are according to the interpretations of Cēṉāvaraiyar, Teyvaccilaiyār and Kallāṭaṉār[11].

According to Iḷampūraṇar and Dr. P. S. Sastri, the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern may determine the particular class of a common noun, if they are suited to it[12].

Cāttaṉ yāḻ-eḻūum "Cāttaṉ plays upon the fiddle" (rational class)

---

10 TC, 173.

11 Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 173.
Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 168.
Kal., *A Commentary on* TC, 166.

12 Iḷa., *A Commentary on* TC, 170.
Sastri, P. S., *A Commentary on* TC, 173.

Cāttaṉ pul-tiṉṉum "Cāttan eats grass" (non-rational class)

Naccinārkkiniyar accepts both the interpretations. Dr. P. S. Sastri states that the 'tiṇai' (class) is determined by the meaning of the stem of the verbs and not by the verbal termination[13]. But it may be pointed out here that not the verbal stems alone but they with the preposed nouns which stand as ICs (= immediate constituents) with the following finite verbs, determine the gender or class of the noun in the nominative case.

12.2.5. Modification in Form

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that in the non-finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern (adjectival participles) also the final vowel and the immediately preceding consonant are dropped[14] (13.18.2). From this Cēṉāvaraiyar infers that in the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern either the final vowel *-u-* or the final *-u-* with the preceding consonants is dropped[15].

Teyvaccilaiyār, on the basis of the phrase 'peyar eñcu kiḷavikkum' - "for the adjectival participle also" used in the sūtra that deals with the modification of form of the adjectival participles interprets that the same changes (dropping the vowel *-u-* and the immediately preceding consonant) may hold good for the finite verbs of the same pattern also, since such usages are found in literature[16].

The changes described by the commentators may be simplified by stating that the *-u-* of the suffix *-um* or the formative

[13] Sastri, P. S, *A Commentary on* TC, 173.

[14] TC, 238.

[15] Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 238.

[16] Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 231.

suffix of the verbal stem and the *-u-* of the suffix *-um* may be dropped in the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs.

kaluḷum	*kaluḷm*
cellum	*ceṉm* (PN, 133) (*-u-* is dropped)
ākum	*ām* (PN, 134) (verbal stem formative *-k(u)* and *-u-* are dropped)

According to L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, *-um* ~ *-m* denotes aoristic future[17]. According to Dr. Varadarajanar *-um* ~ *-m* denotes future tense[18]. Thus it is evident that the dropping of *-u-* from *-um* is acceptable to the later-day scholars also.

12.2.6. **-um and -uṉtu**

In Iṭaiyiyal Tolkāppiyaṉār says that there are instances, where *-um* becomes (changes into) *-untu*[19] Cēṉāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar consider this *-um* as the termination of the 'ceyyum' pattern adjectival participles[20]. Tolkāppiyaṉār recognizes this *-um* neither as the termination of finite verbs nor as that of non-finite verbs (adjectival participles). He might have considered the *-um*, from which *-untu* is evolved, as a particle denoting number, since he does not include the sūtra, that deals with the above change in Viṉaiyiyal and since he discusses the above in Iṭaiyiyal, while discussing the particles denoting number.

[17] Ramaswami Aiyyar, L. V.. op, cit , p. 765.

[18] Varadarajaṉār, M., *Moḻiyiyal Kaṭṭuraikaḷ*, p. 213-215.

[19] TC, 292.

[20] Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 292.
Nac , *A Commentary on* TC, 294.

The above is, perhaps, the reason that Tolkāppiyaṉār does not observe the suffixation of the neuter pronominal termination *-tu* to the suffix *-um* but treats it as a modified form of the particle *-um*. A few instances of the occurrence of ***-untu*** will gleam the fact further.

peyarkkuntu	(PN, 395)	*peyarkk(u)-untu (-um-tu)*
iriyuntu	(PN, 396)	*iri-untu (-um-tu)*

K. N. Sivaraja Pillai also does not consider ***-untu*** as formed from the suffix *-um*, but he treats it as a demonstrative like *anta* and *inta*, as a full word or as a demonstrative used with verbs to denote present tense[21]. Criticizing the views of Mr. Pillai, Dr. Varadarajanār rightly describes with sufficient illustrations that *-untu* is a combination of two morphemes *-um* + *-tu*[22].

e.g.,	*ār-untu*	(PN, 395)	*ār-um-tu*
	āk(u)-untu	(PN, 380)	*āk(u)-um-tu*

Thus one may easily conclude that the finite verbs with the termination *-untu* are the pronominalised forms of the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs; *-um* is a tense marker (probably denoting aoristic future); *-tu* is neuter singular marker.

12.2.7. Pronominalised Forms of 'Ceyyum' Pattern Finite Verbs

To easily establish the above view, one can cite instances from Caṅkam literature for the rare occurrence of the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs taking the pronominal terminations other than *-tu* also[23].

21 Sivaraja Pillai, K. N., Untu Eṉṉum Iṭaiccol Pirayōkam, p. 46-50.

22 Varadarajaṉār, M., op. cit p. 230-232.

23 Israel, M., "Etirkāla-k-kuṟiyiṭu *um/m*", CT, 60 (1964) p. 52-57.

1.	*koyyumōṉ*	(PN, 225)	*koy-um-ō-ṉ*
2.	*icaikkumaṉa*	(TC, 1)	*icai-kk-um-aṉ-a-φ*
3.	*tūṅkuntu*	(PN, 400)	*tūṅk(u)-um-φ-tu*
4.	*uṇmar*	(Pati., 24)	*uṇ-m-a-r*
5.	*eṉmaṉār*	(TE, 6, 33)	*eṉ-m-aṉ-ā-r*
6.	*ceṉmār*	(AN, 157)	*ceṉ-m-ā-r*
7.	*kāṇumōr*	(Pati., 83)	*kāṇ-um-ō-r*

(In item two zero represents plural number marker and in item three third person marker)

In the above instances *koyyum*, *icaikkum*, *tūṅkum*, *uṇm*, *eṉm*, *ceṉm* and *kāṇum* are the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern (9.10.3). The finite verbs *koyyumōṉ*, *icaikkumaṉa*, *uṇmar*, etc., are the pronominalised forms of the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs, *koyyum*, *icaikkum*, *uṇm*, etc. So it is evident that *-untu* is not a modified form of *-um*, but is a combination of the aoristic future tense marker *-um* and the neuter singular marker *-tu* (9.10.3).

It may be concluded here that the 'ceyyum' pattern impersonal finite verbs, which had multifarious functions at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, had, at times, become restricted to a particular gender and number by assuming the relevant pronominal termination, which could occur in agreement with the nouns of the same gender-number alone.

e.g., *avaṉ koyyumōṉ*
avar uṇmar
atu pāyuntu
avai ceymmaṉa

12. Forms of 'Ceymmaṉa' III. Pattern

12.3.0. Tolkāppiyaṉār includes the form 'ceymmaṉa' in the list of verbs common to both the rational and non-rational classes[1]. There is another finite verb "icaikkumaṉa" of the same pattern found to occur in Tolkāppiyam[2]. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not analyse such forms into their constituent morphemes.

12.3.1. Views of the Commentators on the Formation of the Above Forms

The analysis of the forms of 'ceymmaṉa' pattern and the identification of their parts, according to the commentators are cited here.

1. *Iḷampūraṇar*[3]

icaikkum-maṉ *icaikkumaṉ*

icaikkum - 'ceyyum' pattern adjectival participle

maṉ - iṭaiccol (Particle)

He reads the form as *icaikkumaṉ*.

2. *Cēṉāvaraiyar*[4]

icaikkum-maṉ *icaikkumaṉa*

icaikkum - a finite verb of 'ceyyum' pattern

---

[1] TC, 222, 225.

[2] TC, 1.

[3] Iḷa., *A Commentary on* TC, 1.

[4] Cēṉa., *A Commentary on* TC, 1.

maṉ - 'iṭaiccol' (Particle)

maṉ changes into *maṉa*

3. *Teyvaccilaiyār*[5]

icaikkumaṉa - a verbal noun (class II, 5.3) of *'ceymmaṉa'* pattern, expanded into *ceyyumaṉa*

4. *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar*[6]

icaikkum-maṉ

icaikkum - a finite verb of 'ceyyum' pattern

-maṉ - 'acai iṭaiccol' (expletive particle) occurring with verbs.

While he refers to the 'ceymmaṉa' form, he says that it has the nature of a participle and, thereby, he contradicts his own way of treatment.

5. *Kallāṭaṉār*[7]

icaikkum - a finite verb

-maṉa - 'acainilai iṭaiccol' (expletive particle) occurring with verbs.

Cēṉāvaraiyar describes *'ceymmaṉa'* as a finite verb of the future tense, but states *-maṉa* as the termination instead of stating that it is an 'iṭaiccol', as he does in the case of *icaikkumaṉa*[8].

The forms of the *ceymmaṉa* pattern are not in vogue at present and it is worthy of notice that they were obsolete even at the time of Iḷampūraṇar[9].

---

5 Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 1.
6 Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 227.
7 Kal., *A Commentary on* TC, 1,
8 Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 222.
9 Iḷa., *A Commentary on* TC, 217.

12.3.2. Attempt at the Proper Analysis

As has already been described (12.2.7), such forms are the pronominalised forms of the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern. So they may be segmented as

cey-m-aṉ-a-ϕ

icai-kk-um-aṉ-a-ϕ

cey, icai	- verbal stems
-m-, ~ -um-	- tense marker (aoristic future)
-aṉ-	- link morph
-a-	- third person marker
-ϕ	- plural number marker
-kk-	- formative suffix

12.3.3. Finite Verbal Forms

The above forms are structurally veritable non-rational plural verbs and they can occur in agreement with the non-rational plural subjects.

e.g., *avai ceymmaṉa* "They will do"
col (pl.) *icaikkumaṉa* (TC, 1)

Therefore, it can be surmised that as finite verbs the forms like *ceymmaṉa*, *icaikkumaṉa*, etc., are restricted to the third person non-rational plural (neuter plural) only.

12 3 4. Verbal Nouns of Ceymmaṉa Pattern

But Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly states that all the common verbs (8.2), except second person verbs occur in all the persons and genders[10]. Accordingly all commentators cite examples as to support the occurrence of the forms of 'ceymmaṉa' pattern in all the persons and genders.

[10] TC, 225.

	Sg.	*Pl.*
I	*yāṉ ceymmaṉa*	*yām ceymmaṉa*
II	*nī ceymmaṉa*	*nīyir ceymmaṉa*
III	*avaṉ ceymmaṉa* *avaḷ ceymmaṉa*	*avar ceymmaṉa*
	atu ceymmaṉa	*avai ceymmaṉa*

It is to be pointed out here that according to Teyvaccilaiyār '*ceymmaṉa*' is a 'toḻiṟpeyar' (verbal noun class II; 5.3.1). Then arises a question why Tolkāppiyaṉār includes this form in the sūtra, which deals with the verbs, while he treats the verbal nouns with regular nouns. It may be surmised here that though Tolkāppiyaṉār recognizes the multifarious function of '*ceymmaṉa*' form, he fails to notice that it functions as a verbal noun as well, when it occurs in different persons and genders. Teyvaccilaiyār's statement that in modern times, the form '*ceymmaṉa*' may be used like the forms *ceyvatu*, *ceyvaṉa*, *ceypavai*, etc., also further elucidates the functional aspect of *ceymmaṉa* as a verbal noun[11].

Hence, it may be concluded that Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to usages of '*ceymmaṉa*' as a verbal noun in his work. As a verbal noun of rational plural, like the non-rational singular verbal nouns (See note 21 of chapter V) it occurs in all persons and genders but it is not necessary that it should occur (in agreement) with the subjects (5.3.1). As a finite verb, it occurs in agreement with the non-rational plural subject alone.

[11] Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 1. 218.

12. Verbs Denoting IV. Negation

For the common verbs denoting negation, the commentators cite '*illai*' and '*il*' as examples. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, they occur in all the three persons and five genders[1].

The impersonal verb *illai* is formed from the defective verbal stem (10.8.) *il* by the addition of the termination *-ai-*. Tolkāppiyaṉār includes *ila* in the list of non-rational 'kuṟippu'[2]. '*Ila*' is a non-rational plural defective verb. It may be segmented as *il-a; -ai* and *-a* may be treated as allomorphs. (*avai* = *a-v-ai* and *cila* = *cil-a; -ai* and *-a* are allomorphs). Thus one may rightly consider that originally *illai* might have been a non-rational plural verb.

Thus it may not be wrong to assume here that in the pre-Tolkāppiyam period, the form *illai* might have been used only in the non-rational plural as a variant of *ila* and that since at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār its usage might have gained currency in all the persons and genders, its suffix *-ai* must have lost its significance of denoting non-rational plurality.

'*Il*' in its root form functions as a finite verb. These two verbal forms may be identified as impersonal defective finite verbs.

The occurrence of these verbs in all the persons and genders is as shown below.

---

[1] TC, 222, 225.

[2] TC, 220.

	Sg.	*Pl.*
I	*yāṉ illai*	*yām illai*
II	*nī illai*	*nīyir illai*
III	*avaṉ illai* / *avaḷ illai*	*avar illai*
	atu illai	*avai illai*

Il can be used instead of *illai*. These examples are cited from the commentaries.

In Tolkāypiyam *illai* is used in the non-rational singular and plural only (TE, 47, 63); but *il* is not used in the work.

12. V. Vēṟu

It is a unique form. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, it is a common verb (8.2) and it occurs in all the three persons and five genders[1]. It is of a special structure and behaviour.

It is formed of an unidentifiable root. The tense is not marked in this form and it does not take any pronominal termination.

The commentators cite examples as the following to show its occurrence in all the persons and genders.

	Sg.	Pl.
I	*yāṉ vēṟu*	*yām vēṟu*
II	*nī vēṟu*	*nīyir vēṟu*
III	*avaṉ vēṟu* / *avaḷ vēṟu*	*avar vēṟu*
	atu vēṟu	*avai vēṟu*

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not indicate the adjectival function of the word *vēṟu*. But in modern Tamil it functions as a noun-qualifier also.

atu vēṟu poruḷ "That is a different thing"

[1] TC, 222, 225.

13 Non-Finite Verbs

13.0. Introduction

Immediately after the finite verbs, the non-finite verbs are taken up for study.

Tolkāppiyaṉār treats the non-finite verbs in Viṉaiyiyal, immediately after the finite verbs. Further he instantaneously speaks about the non-finite verbs of various endings in Eḻuttatikāram, when he deals with the external sandhi[1]. He discusses the complements which the non-finite verbs take, in Eccaviyal[2].

The constituents of the non-finite verbs are the verbal stem, the tense marker and the non-finite verbal marker or the verbal stem and the non-finite verbal marker. Though tense is not marked in a few patterns of non-finite verbs, the commentators attempt to attribute certain tense significations to almost all of them and assign them to different tenses.

The non-finite verbs, usually, do not take any pronomina terminations, i e., they are not inflected for person, gender etc. Thus they are not restricted to a particular person, gender or number. Tolkāppiyaṉāɹ includes them in the list of common verbs, i.e., the verbs common to both the rational and the non-rational classes[3].

---

[1] TE, 204, 222, 236, 237, 265, 372.

[2] TC, 430, 432, 433, 457.

[3] TC, 222, 228 ff.

According to the Tamil grammarians, the non-finite verbs may be divided into two classes; the first is that which occurs as adjunct of verbs and the second is that which occurs as adjunct of nouns. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār does not explicitly attempt such a classification, he is also agreed to this, since he treats both of them always adjacently, one after another[4].

The non-finite verbs, as a whole, occur as attributes in their free from. It is evident from Tolkāppiyam that the former class requires a verb to follow as its complement and the latter requires a noun to follow as its complement[5].

13.1. The Problem of Terminology

Tolkāppiyaṉār terms the non-finite verbs as 'eñcukiḷavi'; the class of non-finite verbs which occurs as attributes to the verbs as 'viṉai-y-eñcukiḷavi' (viṉaiyeccam) and the class of non-finite verbs which occurs as attributes to the nouns as 'peyareñcukilavi' (peyareccam)[6]. Dr. Caldwell, G.U. Pope and others term the former as "the verbal participles" and the latter as "the relative participles"[7] John Lazarus, Denys De. S. Bray and S. K. Chatterjee term them the adverbial and the adjectival participles respectively[8].

---

[4] TC, 222, 228-239, 432, 433.

[5] TC, 432, 433.

[6] TC, 228-239, 432. 433.

[7] Caldwell, R., CGD, p, 487.
Pope, G. U., *A Handbook of the ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language*, p. 67.

[8] John Lazarus, *A. Tamil Grammar*, p. 128.
Bray, Denys De, S., *A Brahui Language*, p. 181, 191.
Chatterji, S. K., *The Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, p. 861.

The problem of terminology is often confronted in the study of languages. In many cases, the grammatical terms of one language do not find equivalents in another, for every language has its own structure and therefore needs its own terminology explaining it. Here what the Tamil grammarians mean by the terms 'viṉaiyeñcukiḷavi' and 'peyareñcukiḷavi' cannot be exactly conveyed in single linguistic terminologies, e.g., the term 'viṉaiy-eñcukiḷavi' includes, I. the verbal participles, II. the purpose participles, III. the conditional participles, IV. the infinitive participles and V. some other adverbials.

Dr. Caldwell attempts to translate 'viṉai-eccam' as verb-defects, or verbal complements i.e., words which require a verb to complete the sense and 'peyareccam' as noun-defects, or noun complements i.e., words which require the complement of a noun to complete their signification[9]. Even the terms translated by Dr. Caldwell fall short of exactness and are misleading, though his definition is upto the mark.

In the present study, for the sake of convenience, it is preferred to employ the term "adverbial participles" for 'viṉai-y-eccam' as a whole, collectively for all its different types and adjectival participles for 'peyareccam' as a whole, as they are only participles having the function of adverbs and adjectives respectively. Wherever these terms pose some difficulties they may be replaced by the Tamil terminologies 'viṉaiyeccam' and 'peyareccam'.

13.2. Adverbial Participles

Tolkāppiyaṉār gives nine patterns and six forms as terminations of adverbial participles. He considers the adverbial participles as one among the ten types of 'eccams'[10] – "the

---

[9] Caldwell, R., op. cit., 488, 521.

[10] TC, 430, 432, 433.

forms requiring another form or an understood meaning to complete their sense.

He explicitly points out in a separate sūtra that the adverbial participles take 'viṉai' or 'kuṟippu' as their complements[11]. 'Kuṟippu' may, here, be taken to refer to the defective verbs only, as the pronominalised nouns are not modified by the adverbial participles (10. 8)

e.g. *ceytu vantāṉ* "having done came-he"

ceytu ilaṉ "having done not-he"

In the said sūtra, Tolkāppiyaṉār says that if the adverbial participles take 'kuṟippu' the so-called appellative verbs "as complements, the latter will be followed by a verb formed from *ā* "become", e g ,

avaṉ kaṟṟu vallaṉ āyiṉāṉ

The defective verbs already classified (10.8) need not be followed by another verb, e.g., *vantu ilaṉ, koṭuttu uḷaṉ*, etc. Only if the adverbial participles occur before the pronominalised nouns, the latter will be followed by a verb formed from *ā* "become". In that case too, the modified head is the verb which follows the so-called 'kuṟippu' and not the pronominalised nouns.

e.g. *kaṟṟu vallaṉ āyiṉāṉ*

Here *kaṟṟu* modifies *āyiṉāṉ* and not *vallaṉ*.

The nine patterns and the six terminations of adverbial participles listed and two other types of the same referred to in Tolkāppiyam[12] may be classified into sub-groups, according to their different usages.[13]

---

[11] TC, 432.

[12] TC, 228, 229.

[13] It is interesting to note that Dr. Caldwell classifies the adverbial participles into : 1. verbal participles,

I. Verbal Participle Patterns

1. *ceytu* 2. *ceyyū* 3. *ceypu*
   āṭi (TE, 236) *ceyyā* (TE, 222)
4. *ceyteṉa*

II. Purpose Participle Patterns

5. *ceyyiya* 6. *ceyyiyar* 7. *ceyaṟku*

III. Conditional Participle Pattern

8. *ceyiṉ*

IV. Infinitive Participle Pattern

9. *ceya*

V. **Adverbials**, consisting of 'peyareccam' and nouns and having the function of adverbs. These are formed by juxtaposing the following terminations to the adjectival participles.

piṉ, muṉ, kāl, kaṭai, vaḻi, iṭattu

ceytapiṉ, ceyyāmuṉ, ceytakkāl, ceytakkaṭai, ceytavaḻi and *ceytaviṭattu* are the patterns of adverbials (13.13)

Verbal Participles

13.3. (I) **'ceytu' pattern**

This pattern of forms may be segmented as *cey-t-u* *cey-* *verbal* stem, *-t-* past tense marker and *-u* may be identified as verbal participle marker.

---

2. conditional participles and 3. infinitive participles. He treats the purpose participles also under the infinitives (CGD, p. 487-539).

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar treats them under the following sub-heads: 1. verbal participles, 2. infinitive participles, 3. purpose participles, 4. conditional and concessives. He treats the adverbials under the conditional participles. ('MOTV", p. 769, 770, 773)

The tense of this participle pattern poses a difficult problem, for this pattern of forms occurs without any modification as the modifier of the past, present and future tense verbs. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the pattern 'ceytu' which denotes past tense may also occur in the future tense[14].

e.g. *avaṉ uṇṭu vantāṉ*

avaṉ uṇṭu varuvāṉ

Thus it is clear that one and the same pattern 'ceytu' denotes an action done previous to that which is denoted by the verb, which it modifies, i.e., the tense of the participle is relative to the tense of the following verbs. Regarding this pattern, Dr. Caldwell asserts that, in Tamil, the preterite participle is used to express all subordinate actions, whether simultaneous with the main action or antecedent to it; but though that participle is always in preterite form, it possesses the force of a participle of the present tense when the connection requires it[15]. Finally it may be stated that if the verbal participle is stated to be in the past tense form, it means that the action denoted is past only in relation to the action of the finite verb in the sentence. When it is followed by a present tense or future tense finite verbs, it only means that the action of the participle takes place before the occurrence of the action of the finite verb.

13.4. Verbal Participles with Final -i

Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the verbal participle forms with final *-i* in Eluttatikāram[16], when he deals with the external sandhi rules. The commentators prefer to treat these forms also under the pattern 'ceytu', since the *-i* ending verbal parti-

[14] TC, 239.

[15] Caldwell, op. cit., p. 488.

[16] TC, 236.

ciples also show the same significations as those of the pattern 'ceytu'

āṭi, pāṭi, kūṟi, etc., may be cited as examples for the *-i* ending verbal participles. Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar segment and identify the constituent morphemes of these forms. According to them the final *-u* in 'ceytu' pattern and the final *-i* in the above forms are verbal participle markers and are complementary. But it seems that it is more reasonable and proper to identify *-i* in the forms like *āṭi, kūṟi*, etc., as past tense marker.

There are a few forms of this type with final *-y*, e.g., *pōy, āy*, etc. It may be pointed out here that, according to Tolkāppiyam, *-i* and *-y* may interchange in the final position[17]. So, *-i* and *-y* may be identified as the past tense markers. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar also considers *-y* as the past tense marker here[18]. One may argue that *-y* cannot be the past tense marker, for in the forms like *tūyiṉāṉ, āyiṉāṉ*, etc., *-iṉ-* is the past tense marker and not *-y-* and in the above instances (*pōy, āy*) a zero may be posited to represent the tense marker. This argument does not stand in the light of the interpretation that *-y-* may be taken as a glide, when it is followed by the past tense marker *-iṉ-*; otherwise it is a past tense marker.

Since *-i* is accepted as the past tense marker in the *-i* ending verbal participles, for the sake of descriptive convenience and regularity a zero may be set up to represent the participle marker, e.g.

āṭ-i-φ *kūṟ-i-φ*

pō-y-φ *ā-y-φ*

---

17 TE, 58.

18 Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 230.

13.5. **The forms *iṉṟi*, *iṉṟu*, etc.**

Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to these forms in Eluttatikāram, when he deals with the external sandhi changes[19]. He says that in poetry the final *-i* of the adverbial participle *iṉṟi* may become *-u*. Thus according to him *iṉṟi* becomes *iṉṟu* in poetry; *aṉṟi* and *aṉṟu* are also the forms of the same type. These forms are formed from the negative stems *il-* and *al-* respectively (15.4), which are elsewhere identified as the defective verbal stems in the present study (10.8). Thus these non-finite verbal forms may be identified as the defective non-finite verbs (10.8).

The forms *iṉṟu* and *aṉṟu* may be segmented as *iṉ-* (~ *il-*) *ṟu* (~ *-tu*) and *aṉ-* (~ *al-*) *ṟu* (~ *-tu*). ~ *-ṟu* ~ *-tu* may be identified as the adverbial participle marker occurring after the negative stems or markers (15.9). In the forms *iṉṟi* and *aṉṟi* *-ṟi* is the participle marker. Here it is possible to assume that the forms with final *-u*, *iṉṟu* and *aṉṟu*, might have been, the earlier ones and that they might have changed their ending *-u* into *-i* on the analogy of *-i* ending verbal participles like *āṭi*, *ōṭi*, etc.

13.6. (ii) **'ceypu' pattern.**

This pattern of forms may be segmented into *cey-pu*.*cey-* verbal stem; *-pu* participle termination.

According to Cēṉāvaraiyar, this denotes an action simultaneous with that denoted by the modified verb. According to Teyvaccilaiyār, it denotes the three tenses according to the different context in which it occurs[20]. Naccinārkkiṉiyar points out that it mainly denotes an action done previous to that of

19 TE, 237.

20 Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 221.

the following verb and rarely the future tense[21]. It is of interest to note that no explicit marker to denote all these tense variations is found in the pattern and so the suggestions of the commentators are mere assumptions.

This form has become obsolete.

13.7. (iii) **'ceyyū' and 'ceyyā' patterns.**

Tolkāppiyaṉār includes 'ceyyū' in the list of adverbial participle patterns but only refers to the pattern 'ceyyā' in Eḻuttatikāram[22], while dealing with the external sandhi changes of words with final *-ā*. These patterns *ceyyū* and *ceyyā* may be segmented as *cey-ū* and *cey-ā* respectively. *cey-* verbal stem; *-ū* and *-ā* participle markers.

According to Cēṉāvaraiyar, the forms of the pattern *ceyyū* denote a subordinate action antecedent in point of time to the principal action, i.e., the past tense[23]. Teyvaccilaiyār mentions that they denote either past or present[24]. According to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, they denote past tense[25]. As there is no tense marker in the above two patterns of forms, they may be taken to denote different tenses, according to the contexts.

The forms of these patterns have also become obsolete.

13.8. (iv) **'ceytena' pattern**

This pattern consists of the verbal participle pattern 'ceytu' and the infinitive participle pattern '*eṉa*'. The form

21 Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 230.

22 TE, 222. The commentators consider the pattern 'ceyyā' an alternant pattern of 'ceyyū'.

23 Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC., 228.

24 Tey., *A Commentary on* TC 221.

25 Nac., *A Commentary on* TC., 230.

'ceytu' may be segmented and the constituent morphemes identified as done previously. (13.3). *eṉa* may be analysed into *eṉ-a*; *eṉ-* verbal stem; *-a* infinitive participle marker.

The form *ceyteṉa* occurs in the past tense. This pattern of forms has become obsolete.

An alternative description of the form *eṉa* may be considered here. It may be identified as a connector, which seems to do nothing but connect, e.g. *uṇṭeṉa-p-paci keṭṭatu*. According to the definition of Hockett, it may be classified as an impure marker[26] (17.12). Hockett says that in English most connector are verbs. Here it is of interest to note that the connector *eṉa* is actually a non-finite verbal form functioning as a connector[27].

Purpose Participles

13.9. (v, vi) **'ceyyiya' and 'ceyyiyar' patterns**

These patterns consist of the verbal stem *cey-* and the suffixes *-iya* and *-iyar* respectively. Iḷampūraṇar is silent regarding the tense of these patterns of forms. All the other commentators are agreed in attributing the future tense signification to them. There is no overt marker to denote the tense in them.

---

26 Hockett., C. F., *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 192, 197, 214.

27 ———, ibid., p. 196 f.
Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the form *eṉa* in Eḻuttatikāram(204) and speaks about the forms *eṉa* and *eṉṟu* in Iṭaiyiyal (TC, 258, 259, 264, 430, 438). He treats both of them as connectors. Though the above forms function as connective particles, they are really non-finite verbs formed from the stem *eṉ-* (17.12).

It is worthy of notice that L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar also treats the forms of these patterns under the purpose participles[28].

Dr. Varadarajaṉār claims the identity of these patterns with the optative verbal patterns[29].

The forms of these patterns have also become obsolete.

13.10. (vii) *'ceyaṟku'* **pattern**[30]

This pattern is used to denote a purposive significance This consists of the verbal noun *ceyal* (5.3) and the dative case marker *-ku*. Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar deny the fact that it is a dative, but Kallāṭaṉār admits that it is a dative case marker[31].

According to Cēṉāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār the forms of this pattern denote future tense[32].

It is interesting to note that Pavaṇanti, the later-day grammarian does not include this in the list of adverbial participle patterns[33].

---

[28] Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., "MOTV', p 770.

[29] Varadarajan, M., Origin and Developments of Verbs in Tamil, p. 54.

[30] It is worthy of notice that in Tolkāppiyam in a number of instances the verbal noun plus dative case marker *-ku* occur with a purposive significance. It is difficult for one to distinguish in which case they are 'viṉaiyeccam' and in which case they are declined verbal nouns.

[31] Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 228.
Kal., *A Commentary on* TC, 230.

[32] Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 228.

[33] Naṉ., 343.

Conditional Participles

13.11. (viii) *'ceyin'* **pattern**

This participle pattern consists of the verbal stem and the suffix *-in*. Scholars claim that the suffix *-in* here occurs as the ablative case marker. It is inexplicable how the occurrence of ablative marker *-in* with the verbal stem to form adverbial participles suits. So it is safer to describe here *-in* as a separate suffix denoting the participle of condition.

According to Cēnāvaraiyar, the forms of this pattern denote three tenses but according to Teyvaccilaiyār and Naccinārkkiniyar they denote future tense only[34].

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar considers that the forms with the terminations *-kāl, kaṭai,* etc., which are treated in this thesis as adverbials, are conditional participles[35]. Though some of them may be of conditional significance, they are treated separately, since they are of entirely different structure (13.13).

Infinitive Participles

13.12. (ix) **'ceya' pattern**

The Dravidian linguists Dr. Caldwell, L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar and others also consider 'ceya' as the pattern of infinitive participles[36]. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar establishes the infinitive significance of this pattern by the following arguments "As

---

34 Cēnā., *A Commentary on* TC, 228.
Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 221.
Nac., *A Commentary on* TC., 230.

35 Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., op. cit., p. 773, 774.

36 Caldwell, R., op. cit., p. 487-539.
Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V., op. cit., p. 769.

participles, the instances in Caṅkam texts signify only simultaneous action or 'effect', the idea of 'purpose' appears but rarely :-

cf. *tēr tara vanta* (PN, 63) *yāṉ uraikka vantatu* (PN, 28), which appear to be border-line instances to which either the signification of 'effect' or derived idea of 'purpose' could be ascribed. Such instances are but rare in Caṅkam texts, the usual rule being that 'purpose' is denoted by other formations"[87].

The form *ceya* consists of verbal stem *cey-* and the suffix *-a*.

It is evident that tense is not marked in this form and it may be taken to denote one of the three tenses according to the contexts.

13.13. **Adverbials**

Tolkāppiyaṉār lists six forms also as terminations of adverbial participles. They are *piṉ, muṉ, kāl, kaṭai, vaḻi* and *iṭattu*. The commentators cite the examples as the following, for their occurrence as terminations of adverbial participles.

1. *vanta-piṉ*
2. *varu-muṉ*
3. *vanta-k-kāl*
4. *vanta-k-kaṭai*
5. *vanta-vaḻi*
6. *vanta-viṭattu*

The above are the patterns of some of the adverbial expressions[88]. On investigation it is found that the six forms

[87] ———— , ibid., p. 770.

[88] If two or more words which, as one unit, have the function of an adverb, they may be identified as an adverbial expression.

enumerated in Tolkāppiyam are not terminal suffixes; but are real free forms, i.e., they are nouns denoting place or time. It is evident that all the examples cited above are phrases, consisting of two free forms[39] (i e., a '*ceyta*' pattern of adjective participle and a noun), which, as single units, have the function of adverbs. Though Cēṉāvaraiyar denies the fact that they are formed of 'peyareccam' and nouns, Naccinārkkiṉiyar states it as the reason for Tolkāppiyaṉār's placing them in a separate sūtra[40].

These adverbials modify the verbs that follow them in sentences. Since they are of adverbial function, similar to that of the adverbial participles, Tolkāppiyaṉār treats their second members as the terminations of adverbial participles.

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar's observations, which seem to support the suggestions posited above, are worth quoting here. He says, "TC, 229 refers to the forms constituted of relative participles (adjectival participles) and *kāl*, *kaṭai*, etc. The conditional meaning for forms like *vantakkāl* would arise, when these forms modify "indeterminate" or future verb forms. In the earlier stages of Caṅkam Tamil, such conditional forms are rare. The restriction of the force "*vantakkāl*" to the pure conditional appears to have been comparatively of a later period"[41] (13.11).

13.14. Finite Verbs Functioning as Participles

Tolkāppiyaṉār mentions in Eccaviyal that the adverbial participles too may be of different nature which are not

---

39 A little difference, that may be pointed out here, is that the initial plosive of the following member is doubled in the adverbial expressions.

40 Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 229.
Nac.. *A Commentary on* TC, 231.

41 Ramaswami Aiyar; L. V., op. cit., p. 773. 774.

mentioned before[42]. The commentators interpret the above reference of Tolkāppiyaṉār to the different nature of adverbial participles, as to the difference in form. They treat some of the finite verbal forms functioning as adverbial participles, under the sūtra. They are termed as 'muṟṟeccam' by the later-day grammarians[43]. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not explicitly refer to such forms but he uses some of them in his work.

e.g. *uṇarntaṉar .... eṉmaṉār* (TE, 483)

uṇarntaṉar koḷalē (TC, 117, 296)

These forms, unlike the regular adverbial participles, are similar to the finite verbs in form but are similar to the participles in function. The person, gender and number markers in them have no function of denoting person, gender, etc. The termination that occurs after the tense marker, may, as a whole, be identified as the adverbial participle marker[44]. The *-mār* ending adverbial participles are already discussed (9.10.3). In the same way, the above form may be segmented as *uṇar-nt-aṉar*; *-aṉar* is the adverbial participle marker.

---

[42] TC, 457.

[43] Naṉ., 435 (a commentary on the sūtra)

[44] The commentators cite *-pāṉ*, *-vāṉ*, *-vākku* and *-pākku* as terminations of adverbial participles. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar rightly discusses the forms with the above terminations under the purpose participles. The forms with these terminations are neither dealt with nor found used in Tolkāppiyam. The forms like *uṇpāṉ*, *varuvāṉ*, *uṇpākku*, *varuvākku*, etc., which function as adverbs, are of later developments in the language. They are finite verbs in form but, according to the commentators, may function as adverbial participles also. *-p āṉ*; *-v-āṉ*; *-p-āṉ-ku*; *-v-āṉ-ku*; *-p-* ~ *-v-* future tense marker; *-ku* dative marker; *-āṉ* participle marker. *-ṉ* may be assimilated to *-k-* when followed by dative marker.

13.15. Adverbial Participles Occurring in a Sequence

The adverbial participles of different kinds, which may occur in a linear sequence in a sentence, also become complete when the last one takes a complement[45]. From this, it can be inferred that the adverbial participles of the same kind too become complete in the above manner. Thus the preceding adverbial participle, according to Tolkāppiyam, does not modify the immediately following adverbial participle, i.e., the latter does not become the complement of the former and only the final verb becomes the complement of all the preceding adverbial participles.

e.g. *uṇṭu tiṉṟu ōṭip pāṭi vantāṉ*
uṇṭu paruki-t tiṉkupu vantāṉ

13.16. Adjectival Participles

The non-finite verbs which modify the nouns are, herein, termed as adjectival participles. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the adjectival participle is one of the ten 'eccams' - "non-finites", i.e., the forms requiring another form or an understood meaning to complete their sense[46]. He treats the adjectival participles mainly in Viṉaiyiyal, immediately after the adverbial participles and in Eccaviyal. They are considered as common verbs, i. e., the verbs that are common to both the rational and the non-rational classes.

Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly states that they take nouns as their complements. The noun-complements, according to him may be words denoting land, object, time, instrument, agent or action[47].

---

[45] TC, 233.

[46] TC, 430.

[47] TC, 234, 433.

Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates only two different patterns of adjectival participles, *ceyta* and *ceyyum*. The former denotes the past tense and the latter the non-past tense. Here it is evident that only a two-way distinction of tense was clear-cut in ancient Tamil (14.0,1).

13.17.1. 'ceyta' pattern

As per the terminology employed in the description of Kolami by Prof. Emeneau, '*ceyta*' pattern of forms may be identified as completive[48].

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not analyse this form into its constituent morphemes. It is evident that it consists of the verbal stem, the past tense marker and adjectival participle marker

cey-t-a ceyta

13.18.2. ceyyum pattern

According to Prof. Emeneau. *ceyyum* pattern of forms may be identified as the continuative[49]. This pattern may be segmented as *cey-um*, *cey-* verbal stem; *um-* non-past marker.

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not say anything about the tense significance of the '*ceyyum*' pattern non-finite verbs. But the finite verbs of '*ceyyum*' pattern, which are identical with the '*ceyyum*' pattern non-finite verbs, according to Tolkāppiyam, denote present tense[50]. There the terminal suffix *-um* is assigned to the tense. As there had been no separate patterns of participles for the present and the future tenses, in Tamil, at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, it may not be wrong to assume

---

48 Emeneau, M. B., *Kolami, A Dravidian Language*, p. 96.

49 Ditto.

50 TC, 227.

that '*ceyyum*' pattern non-finite forms might have been used in both the tenses.

There is no overt participle marker here. Thus for the sake of descriptive convenience, a zero may be set up to represent the same and accordingly *ceyyum* may be segmented as *cey-um-φ*. *-um* is the non-past marker.

Tolkāppiyaṉār describes the changes, which the '*ceyyum*' pattern non-finite verbs undergo in some instances. He says that the final *-u* with the preceding consonant may be elided in the adjectival participles of '*ceyyum*' pattern[81] (12.2.5)

avāvum	>	*avām*	*avām pēraṟivāḷaṉ tiru*
ākum	>	*ām*	*ām poruḷ*

Though there is little difference in form between the '*ceyyum*' pattern non-finite verbs and the finite verbs of the same pattern, there is explicit difference between them in function. The non-finite verbs occur as attributes to those nouns which the non-finites take as complements whereas the finite verbs occur as predicates.

e. g. 1. *paṟakkum kiḷi* "flying parrot"
2. *ōṭum kutirai* "running horse"
3. *kiḷi paṟakkum* "the parrot flies"
4. *kutirai ōṭum* "the horse runs"

In the first two examples *paṟakkum* and *ōṭum* occur as non-finite verbs whereas in the last two they occur as finite verbs.

Further, the finite verbs of '*ceyyum*' pattern, according to Tolkāppiyam, do not occur with the first and the second person subjects and with the third rational plural subjects,

81 TC, 238.

whereas the adjectival participles (the non-finite verbs) of '*ceyyum*' pattern are common to the subjects of all persons, genders and numbers (12.2.5).

13.19. A Few Other Forms of Adjectival Participles

Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to a negative form of the adjectival participle *illā* in Eḻuttatikāram[52], when he deals with the external sandhi changes. This form is formed from the negative stem *il-*, which is elsewhere identified as one of the defective verbal stems (10.8). Dr. V. I. Subramoniam rightly points out that *illā* is a case of negative, taking a negative suffix before a relative participle marker *-a*[53]. Thus it may be cited as an instance for the occurrence of double negation.

By the force of analogy the defective verbal stem *il-*, which is already a negative stem takes the negative marker also[54]. The form *illā* may be segmented as *il-ā-a; -ā-* negative suffix; *-a* adjectival participle marker.

It may be pointed out here that Tolkāppiyaṉār considers *il* and *illai* as alternants of the non-finite verb *illā*[55].

13.20. A Few Common Characteristics of Non-finite Verbs at the Syntactical Level

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that though the non-finite verbs are used in negation, they are of the same nature[56], i.e., they are

---

52 TE, 372.

53 Subramoniam, V. I., "Negatives", *TCult.*, VIII (1959), p.36.

54 The analogy is caused by the regular non.-finite verbs taking the negative marker *-ā-* when they become negative non-finite verbs, e.g.,

ceytā *ceyyā* *cey-ā-a*
uṇṭa *uṇṇā* *uṇ-ā-a*

55 TE, 372.

treated in the same way as affirmatives. By this, Tolkāppiyanār might have meant that their non-finite characteristics, their occurrence as modifiers, their occurrence in all the persons, genders, etc., and their requirement of complements do not change, even if they are used negatively (15.6).

e.g. *aṟiyā-p-poruḷ* (TC, 31)

puṇarā-c-cuṭṭuppeyar (TC, 37)

muṭiyātu............ ....

.... muṭiyum...... (TC, 233)

tiriyātu...... .... varūum

.... moḻipa (TE, 418)

When the forms are changed into negatives, the negative marker *-ā-* occurs between the verbal stems and the participle markers (15.9,10).

It is not necessary that the non-finite verbs must be immediately followed by their complements. It may be that some other suitable words occur in between the modifier and the modified. Tolkāppiyanār explicitly points out that the use of suitable words between the non-finite verbs and their complements may not be discredited[57].

e.g. *uḻutu [cāttan] vantān*

kollum [kāṭṭul] yānai

---

[56] TC, 236.

[57] TC, 237.

14 Tense

14.0. Tolkāppiyaṉār deals with tense in several sūtras,[1] but he does not analyse the tense markers. As verbs are identified mainly by the characteristic of taking tense markers, the author discusses the tense mainly along with the verbs, in Viṉaiyiyal. It is also sporadically referred to in other places of Collatikāram.

The most important factor that distinguishes verbs from nouns is tense. Tolkāppiyaṉār defines nouns by the criterion of not taking tense and verbs by the criterion of taking tense[2]. He indicates that a sub-class of nouns (verbal nouns, 5.3-5) denotes tense. According to him, the tense is implied in 'kuṟippu' - "the so-called appellative verbs"[3].

Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly points out that there are three tenses - the past, the present and the future[4]. But from the language used in Tolkāppiyam and in the earliest extant Caṅkam literature, it is evident that only a two-way tense distinction was clear-cut in ancient Tamil. (Ref. Chart annexed to the notes).

14.1. Present Tense in Old Tamil.

It is evident from Tolkāppiyam that there were no present tense personal finite verbs at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār.

---

1 TC, 70, 112, 198-201, 207, 213-215, 220-221, 227, 229, 239, 240-242, 245, 247, 248, 427, 437.

2 TC, 70, 198.

3 TC, 200, 201, 210, 213.

4 TC, 199, 200.

Caṅkam literature also bears testimony to this fact, for one cannot find even a single form of present tense personal finite verb in it. The present tense finite verbs that were used in ancient Tamil were of the 'ceyyum' pattern impersonal verbs (12.2). Though Tolkāppiyaṉār attributes present tense to them, he himself indicates that they are used to denote habitual or universal present tense also Thus one may safely assume that they were not used distinctively and exclusively in the present tense. Even if the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern are accepted as actual present tense verbs, it must be remembered that they were not used in the first and second persons and in the third person epicene plural (12.2.1). Thus it is obvious that at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār there were no distinctive present tense verbs of any type used in the first and second persons and in the third person epicene plural.

There were only two patterns of adjectival participles used at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, '*ceyta*' and '*ceyyum*'. 'Ceyta' occurs in the past tense and 'ceyyum' is found to occur in both the present and future tenses (13.18). Thus it is evident that there was only a two-way distinction of tense in the case of adjectival participles also.

Referring to the temporal suffixes of the Dravidian languages, Jules Bloch says that the most clear and the most current suffixes are......... those of the past and the future[5].

So, one may safely conclude that in ancient Tamil, which is the most representative of Dravidian languages, the present tense had not developed into a full-fledged tense.

14.2. **Finite Verbs and Tense.**

In Eccaviyal, Tolkāppiyaṉār classifies the finite verbs according to the three different tenses.[6] There the commentators

---

[5] Bloch, Jules, GSD, p, 68.

[6] TC, 427.

cite examples for the finite verbs of three different tenses, of which the present tense forms like *uṇṇāniṉṟēṉ*, *uṇṇāniṉṟaṉaṉ* etc., are of later developments only. Such forms are not found in Tolkāppiyam or in Caṅkam literature. Tolkāppiyaṉār speaks of the present tense only when he deals with 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs. In other words, wherever Tolkāppiyaṉār speaks of the present tense, he refers only to the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs. While dealing with the functional syncretism of tenses, with regard to the present tense, he is referring to the verbs of the same pattern only (14.10).

The tense is marked in almost all the finite verbs. It is not overtly marked in the defective verbs, imperatives, negatives and in the optatives. These categories of verbs are not so frequent as those verbs, in which the tense is overtly marked.

14.3. Non-finite Verbs and Tense.

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the adverbial participles of 'ceytu' pattern denoting the past tense, may occur in the future tense also.[7] The tense signification of these participles is not always the actual past but is past only in relation to the tense of the following complement. Thus the same participles may occur as attributes to verbs in the future tense also (13.3).

e.g. *avaḷ vantu ceṉṟāḷ* "Having come, she went"

avaḷ vantu celvāḷ "Having come, she will go"

Though nothing is known about the tense signification of the other patterns of adverbial participles from Tolkāppiyam, the commentators attribute some tense significations to all of them, which have already been discussed in detail (13.6-12).

---

[7] TC, 239.

It is evident that the adjectival participles of 'ceyta' pattern denote past tense and those of 'ceyyum' pattern denote the non-past. (13.17, 18).

14.4. Negative Verbs and Tense.

It is a peculiarity of ancient Tamil that almost all the negative verbs lack tense markers and that they are mostly found to occur in the future tense. The negative non-finite verbs denote tense according to the contexts in which they occur. Dr. Caldwell points out that in general, the Dravidian negative has but one tense, which is an aorist or indeterminate in point of time.[8] Jules Bloch states "............... the negative verb is characterized only in relation to the positive by the absence of the temporal suffix .... when the temporal suffix is lacking, the sense is that of the future"[9]. From a study of the negative verbs used in Tolkāppiyam, one may conclude that in ancient Tamil the negatives are tenseless in reference and their relation to the time depends on the context only (15.3).

14.5. Tolkāppiyam and Tense Markers

Tolkāppiyaṉār attributes certain tense significations to some patterns of verbal forms, but he does not analyse the tense markers even in them. The facts that Tolkāppiyaṉār identifies the verbs in some places by the term *kālakkiḷavi*[10] and that he identifies a sub-class of '*iḍaiccol*' by the phrase '*viṉai ceyal maruṅkiṉ kālamoṭu varunavum*' - "that which occurs in verbs with tense"[11] reveal that he very well recognizes the existence of tense markers in verbs.

[8] Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 468.

[9] Bloch, Jules, GSD, p. 66, 67.

[10] TC, 207, 215, 221.

[11] TC, 250.

Naccinārkkiniyar ascribes a reason for not segmenting and identifying the tense markers in Tolkāppiyam. He says that as the tense marking suffixes are not consistent in denoting the specific tenses on all their occurrences, Tolkāppiyanār does not try to analyse the markers of different tenses[12].

14.6. The Commentators on Tense Markers.

The commentators attempt to segment and identify the tense markers in several places. Cēnāvaraiyar identifies the tense markers by the term 'kālaveluttu' "the phonemes (letters) denoting tense".[13] The commentators not only list the markers of three different tenses but also attribute certain significations to some of the verbal terminations and to the adverbial participles. Though at times they contradict each other in the assignment of tense signification to certain forms, their assumptions are of great help and of immense value to those who analyse and identify the morphemes of Tamil verbs.

A real objection which can be raised against the analysis and to the listing of tense markers by the commentators is that their analysis is sometimes based on the verbal forms of their own age (i.e., They did not confine themselves to the language of Tolkāppiyam period). A number of verbal forms which are neither found in Tolkāppiyam nor in earliest extant literature are cited as examples for the occurrence of the present tense markers, which had developed only at a later period.[14]

---

[12] Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 203,

[13] Cēnā., *A Commentary on* TC, 203.

[14] The commentators cite the forms like *uṇṇāniṉṟaṉam uṇkiṉṟaṉam* as examples for the present tense personal finite verbs.

According to Cēnāvaraiyar, *nil* and *kiṉṟu*, according to Teyvaccilaiyār *kiṉṟu* and according to Naccinārkkiniyar

14.7. Position of Tense Markers

Generally the tense markers occur immediately after the verbal stems.

e.g. *iru-nt-ē-n* (PN, 399)

ā-iṉ-a-ḷ (PN, 348)

Here the allomorphs of the past tense marker *-nt-* and *-iṉ-* occur immediately after verbal stems *iru-* and *ā-* respectively.

In the finite verbs the tense markers are mostly followed by pronominal terminations. In the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs the tense marker itself occurs as termination.

koḷḷum (TC, 75) *koḷ-um*

14.8.0. An Attempt at the Segmentation of Tense Markers

An attempt is made here to segment and identify the different tense markers that occur in the verbs used by Tolkāppiyaṉār. One cannot claim that Tolkāppiyaṉār makes use of all the different types of verbs that occurred in ancient Tamil, e.g. in Tolkāppiyam the first person verbs are used once or twice; the second person verbs are not used at all; the third person masculine singular and feminine singular verbs are very rarely used; only the 'ceymaṉār' and 'ceypa' patterns of verbs are used in the future tense and the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs are frequently used. Thus it is evident that it is not indispensable for a grammarian to employ all the different types of verbs that are current in his time to compose a grammatical work.

So, the distribution of various allomorphs of tenses in old Tamil cannot be assessed from the language of Tolkāppiyam

nil and *kiṉ* are present tense markers. The verbal forms with these tense markers are not found to occur in the early Caṅkam literature.

alone. Wherever there is no instance in Tolkāppiyam to show the occurrence of an allomorph of a tense or to show the environments in which an allomorph occurs, the allomorph and the environments are given within brackets in view of their occurrence in the language of Caṅkam age. References are not cited for their occurrence in Caṅkam literature. Only the allomorphs of tenses that are found to occur in Tolkāppiyam are discussed with examples.

14.8.1. Past Tense

-t- occurs after the verbal stem with final *-y*

ceytatu	(TC, 236)	*cey-t-a-tu*

(*-t-* may occur after the verbal stems with final *-u* and *-ai* also).

-ṭ- occurs after the stems with final *-ṇ*, *-ṇ* (~ *-ḷ*), *-ṭ* (~ *-ḷ*) and between *-ṭ-* and *-u* in gemination.

uṇṭana	(Poruḷiyal, 19)	*uṇ-ṭ-aṉ-a-φ*
koṇṭu	(TP, 41)	*koṇ- (~ koḷ-) -ṭ-u*
peṭṭa	(TP, 102)	*peṭ- (~ peḷ-) -ṭ-a*
keṭṭu	(TE, 310)	*keṭ-ṭ-u.*

-ṟ- occurs after the verbal stems with final *-ṉ*, *-ṉ* (~ -l) and between *-ṟ-* and *-u* in gemination.

eṉṟa	(TC, 427)	*eṉ-ṟ-a*
ceṉṟu	(TC, 297)	*ceṉ- (~ cel-) ṟ-u*
peṟṟu	(TC, 26)	*peṟ-ṟ-u*

-k- occurs in the stems between *-k-* and *-u* in gemination.

pukku	(TP, 72)	*puk-k-u.*

The allomorphs *-t-*, *-ṭ-*, *-ṟ-* and *-k-* are phonologically conditioned.

-nt- occurs after the verbal stems with final *-a, ā-, -i, -u, -ai, -y, -r* and *-ḻ*

iṟantu	(TE, 33)	*iṟa-nt-u*
aṅkāntu	(TE, 85)	*aṅkā-nt-u*
aṟintu	(TE, 404)	*aṟi-nt-u*
eḻunta	(TC, 110)	*eḻu-nt-a*
iyaintu	(TE, 97)	*iyai-nt-u*
āynta	(TP, 79)	*āy-nt-a*
ūrntu	(TE, 34)	*ūr-nt-u*
viḻnta	(TP, 68)	*viḻ-nt-a*

(*-nt-* may occur after the verbal stems with final *-ō*)

-tt- occurs after the stems with final *-ā, -i, -ī, -u, -ai, -o, -y* and *-r*

yāttu	(Ceyyuḷiyal, 167)	*yā-tt-u*
kuṟittu	(TC, 288)	*kuṟi-tt-u*
nītta	(TP, 76)	*nī-tt-a*
eṭutta	(TE, 239)	*eṭu-tt-a*
uraittu	(TP, 114)	*urai-tt-u*
otta	(TE, 41)	*o-tt-a*
uytta	(TP, 63)	*uy-tt-a*
puṇarttu	(TP, 50)	*puṇar-tt-u*

(*-tt-* may occur after the verbal stems with final *-ḻ* also)

-i- occurs after the verbal stems with final shortened *-u, -ī, -ai, -ṉ, -r, -l* and *-ḷ*

nāṭi	(TE, 83)	*nāṭ(u)-i*
orīi	(TC, 401)	*orī-i*
nilaii	(TE, 83)	*nilai-i*
civaṉiya	(TE, 33)	*civaṉ-i-a*

peyariya	(TC, 73)	*peyar-i-a*
colliya	(TE, 100)	*col-i-a*
aruḷiya	(TP, 60)	*aruḷ-i-a*

-iṉ- occurs after the verbal stem with final shortened *-u*
ōṭṭiṉa (Ceyyuḷiyal, 114) *ōṭṭ(u)-iṉ-a*

(In several instances *-iṉ-* may occur in free variation with *-i-*)

(*-y-* may occur in the adverbial participles after the stems, *ā*, *pō*, etc.)

14.8.2. **Present Tense.**

-um ~ *-m* occurs as present tense marker in the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs.

koḷḷum	(TC, 75)	*koḷ-um*
ākum	(TC, 306)	*ā-m*

14.8.3. **Future Tense.**

-p- occurs after the verbal stems with final *-i*, *-u*, *-r*, *-ḷ*, and *-ṉ* in 'ceypa' pattern of finite verbs.

moḻipa	(TE, 105)	*moḻi-p-a-ϕ*
ākupa	(TP, 30)	*āku-p-a-ϕ*
uṇarpa	(TP, 137)	*uṇar-p-a-ϕ*
koḷpa	(TC, 153)	*koḷ-p-a-ϕ*
eṉpa	(TE, 1, 3)	*eṉ-p-a-ϕ*

-p- occurs after the verbal stems with final *-ai*, *-ṭ* (~*ḷ*), *-ḷ* and *-ṟ* (~*l*) in the participial nouns.

iyaipavai	(Marapiyal, 104)	*iyai-p-a-vai*
kēṭpōr	(Ceyyuḷiyal, 1)	*keṭ-p-ō-r*

nikaḷpavai	(TP, 102)	*nikaḷ-p-a-vai*
niṟpavai	(TP, 102)	*nil-p-a-vai*

(*-p-* may occur after the stems with final *-ṉ* also)

-pp- occurs after the stems with the final *-a* in the 'ceypa' pattern of finite verbs.

kiḷappa	(TC, 118)	*kiḷa-pp-a-ϕ*

-pp- occurs after the stems with final *-i*, *-u*, *-ai* and *-o* in the participial nouns.

muṭippatu	(Ceyyuḷiyal, 202)	*muṭi-pp-a-tu*
koṭuppōr	(TP, 90)	*koṭu-pp-ō-r*
uraippatu	(Ceyyuḷiyal, 200)	*urai-pp-a-tu*
oppatu	(Ceyyuḷiyal, 91)	*o-pp-a-tu*

(*-pp-* may occur after the stems with final *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ō* *-y*, *-r* and *-ḷ* also)

The future tense allomorph *-v-* is not found to occur in the finite verbs in Tolkāppiyam, but it occurs in the participial nouns after the verbal stems with final *-i*, *-u*, *-y*, *-r*, *l* and *-ḷ*.

aṟivatu	(Maṟapiyal, 27)	*aṟi-v-a-tu*
ākuvatu	(TC, 77)	*āku-v-a-tu*
ceyvatu	(TC, 112)	*cey-v-a-tu*
uṇarvōr	(Ceyyuḷiyal, 68)	*uṇar-v-ō-r*
koḷvatu	(TC, 63)	*koḷ-v-a-tu*

(*-v-* may occur as future tense allomorph in the finite verbs also. It occurs after the stems with final *-ai*, *-ḷ* and shortened *-u*. *-k-* may rarely occur as an allomorph of future tense in free variation with *-v-* only, mostly before the pronominal termination *-am*)

(In Caṅkam literature the future tense allomorph *-p-* and *-v-* rarely occur in free variation, 9.10.3).

14.9. Peculiarities of the Tense Marker *-um* ~ *-m*.

The terminal suffix *-um* ~ *-m* in the 'ceyyum' pattern adjectival participles evidently denotes the non-past tense, i.e., both the present and the future (13.18; 14.2).

According to Tolkāppiyanār the terminal suffix *-um* ~ *-m* in the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs denotes the actual present and the habitual or the universal present tense (12.2.2; 14.2).

Further, some of the finite verbs which are either treated or used by Tolkāppiyaṉār and in which *-um-* ~ *-m-* occurs as a tense marker may be brought here for the investigation of their tense signification.

1.	*eḷḷumār*	(KT, 81; TC, 207)	*eḷ-um-ā-r*
2.	*ceṉmār*	(AN, 157, TC, 207)	*ceṉ-m-ā-r*
3.	*eṉmaṉār*	(TC, 1, 38, 80)	*eṉ-m-aṉ-ā-r*
4.	*icaikkumaṉa*	(TC, 1, ?22)	*icai-kk-um-aṉ-a-φ*
5.	*ceyyuntu*	(TC, 292)	*cey-um-φ-tu.*

The commentators clearly state that these forms occur in the future tense. If these forms, according to the commentators, are to occur in the future tense, the marker *-um* ~ *-m* must be denoting the future in these instances. In Caṅkam literature the above type of forms denote either the non-past or the future. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not suggest anything about the tense signification of the marker *-um* ~ *-m* that occurs in the finite verbs taking the pronominal terminations. In the above citations, one is confronted with the verbs which are mostly in aoristic future tense (9.10 3; 12.2.7; 12.3)

Thus it may be safely concluded that at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār the terminal suffix *-um* ~ *-m* in the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs denoted the actual present and the habitual or universal present tense, and the suffix *-um* ~ *-m* in other

finite verbs (i. e., pronominalised forms of 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs) might have denoted the aoristic future tense.

Further, one may assume that originally *-um* ~ *-m* in the finite verbs must have denoted the present tense only and at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār the present and the aoristic future; in the Caṅkam period the aoristic future and future and in the modern period the future only.

14.10. **Functional Syncretism of Tenses.**

The functional syncretism of tenses can be found only at the syntactical level. But with a view to complete the study of the treatment of tense in Tolkāppiyam, they are briefly discussed here.

In special circumstances a verbal form belonging to a certain tense may be found to occur in other tenses also. This sort of functional syncretism in the use of different tense forms are discussed by Tolkāppiyanār in a few sūtras at the end of Viṉaiyiyal.

1. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that according to scholars the past tense verb is used for the present or the future to denote haste[15].

For instance, if one puts the question *nī vara-v-illaiyā?* "Are you not coming?", one who is coming and one who is to come both answer '*vantēṉ*' "came I".

2. Tolkāppiyaṉār states that the present tense verbs (i.e., 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs) are used in general statements also to denote the fruit of an extra-ordinary action, even though a particular man has not done it[16]. (12.2.3).

[15] TC. 241.

[16] TC, 242.

3. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the past or present tense verbs are used to denote future in general statements and statements of assertion[17].

e.g. *Kāṭṭul pōvāṉ kūṟai kōṭ-paṭṭāṉ*

"He who will go into a forest was robbed of his cloth"

Kāṭṭuḷ pōvaṉ kūṟai kōṭ-paṭum

"He who will go into a forest is robbed of his cloth"

4. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the past tense verb may be used for the future and vice versa[18].

Nāḷai avaṉ aṅku vantāṉ, nī eṉ ceykuvai?

"If he comes there, tomorrow what will you do"?

Paṇṭu iṅkē nām viḷai-y-āṭuvam

"Here we will play in olden times"

Finally Tolkāppiyaṉār states that scholars do not forbid the use of one tense for another in the case of other tenses also[19].

e.g. *Ivaḷ nāḷai aṅku varum*

"She goes there to-morrow"

---

[17] TC, 245.

[18] TC, 247.

[19] TC, 248.

Tense Distinctions in Old Tamil with reference to *Puṟanāṉūṟu*

1. Finite Verbs

Tenses	First Person		Second Person		Third Person				
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Epicene Plural	Neuter Singular	Neuter Plural
Past	*iruntēṉ*	*āyiṉēm*	*aṟin-taṉai*	*irun-taṉir*	*aruḷinaṉ*	*āyiṉaḷ*	*amain-taṉar*	*amaintaṉṟu*	*kaḷintaṉa*
	(PN,399)	(PN,141)	(PN, 5)	(PN, 141)	(PN, 395)	(PN, 348)	(PN, 65)	(PN, 395)	(PN, 97)
Present	—	—	—	—	*ceyyum*	*ceyyum*	—	*ceyyum*	*ceyyum*
Future	*iraṅku-vēṉ*	*uṇkuvam*	*ākuvai*	*akuvir*	*ākuvaṉ*	*ākuvaḷ*	*ākuvar*	*āvatu*	*ākupa*
	(PN,209)	(PN,136)	(PN, 70)	(PN, 280)	(PN, 396)	(PN, 254)	(PN, 238)	(PN, 63)	(PN, 7)

Adjectival Participle Patterns

2. Non-finite verbs

	Old Tamil		Modern Tamil
Past	*ceyta*	past	*ceyta*
Present	*ceyyum*	Nonpast	*ceykiṟa/ceykiṉṟa/ceyyāniṉṟā*
Future	*ceyyum*		*ceyyum*

15 Negative Voice

15.0. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār recognizes the existence of negative voice in Tamil and refers to it in several sūtras[1], neither does he discuss the formation of negative verbs nor does he analyse the negative markers. But the reference made and the negative forms used by him in Tolkāppiyam enable one to study their formation and analyse the negative markers.

In Tamil, the negative voice is indicated by two devices, i.e., either by certain syntactical device or by morphological devices. These devices are sporadically referred to in Tolkāppiyam.

15.1. Syntactical Device

The three enclitics *-ā*, *-ē* and *-ō* are classed as interrogatives by Tolkāppiyaṉār[2] (3.12). He says that the interrogative verbs denoting emphasis may have the capacity to express negation[3].

e.g. *yāṉ vaitēnā*? (-ā) "Did I scold you?"
yāṉ vaitēnō? (-ō) "Did I scold you?"
(No, I did not)

Here the negative sense is expressed by the interrogative enclitics *-ā*, *-ō*, etc. (17.14)

---

[1] TE. 237, 275, 290, 372.
TC, 107, 214, 222, 236, 244, 255, 256, 435.

[2] TE, 32.

[3] TC, 244, 435.

Further, Tolkāppiyaṉār speaks of the clitics (17.14.6) which are used to express negative sense also, in Iṭaiyiyal. There he says that the particles *-um* and *-ō* are also used as negatives[4].

15.2. Morphological Device

The morphological device of indicating negation is either by certain negative roots or by negative suffixes. In the following pages we are confining our attention to the morphological means of expressing negation. The study undertaken here is based on the slender statements of Tolkāppiyaṉār about negation and on the basis of the negative forms found used by him.

15.3. Negatives and Tense

It is evident from a study of the negative verbs in Tolkāppiyam that the negative is tenseless in reference and its relation to the time depends on the context only (14.4). Thus one may rightly conclude that in ancient Tamil the negative verbs were not conjugated for tense.

15.4. Verbs Formed From the Negative Roots

Dr. Caldwell enunciates "All verbal themes are naturally affirmative, and the negative signification is expressed by means of additions or changes"[5]. This statement of Dr. Caldwell does not recognize the existence of the negative roots '*al*' and '*il*', from which the negative defective verbs like *allaṉ*, *allaḷ*., *ilaṉ*, *ilaḷ*, etc., are formed. Dr. Caldwell identifies the stems al and *il* as particles[6] As far as the language of Tolkāppiyam

---

[4] TC, 255, 256.

[5] Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 468.

[6] Ibid., p. 475.

is concerned they are not at all particles, since they are inflected for person and number-gender, whereas the particles are incapable of being inflected[7]. (17.8)

The roots *al-* "is not" and *il-* "is not; do not exist" are of the neutralizer type in Tamil. Tolkāppiyaṉār considers the verbs formed from these roots as 'kuṟippu' (10.3). These verbal forms also do not take tense markers. They are classified under the defective verbs (10.8).

Tolkāppiyaṉār includes the verbs denoting negation in the list of common verbs They are *il* and *illai.* These verbs are respectively formed of and formed from the stem *il-* (12.4).

15.5. Non-finite Verbs Formed From 'al' and 'il'

Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the non-finite verbs formed from these roots in Eḻuttatikāram[8]. He says that in poetry *aṉṟi* changes into *aṉṟu* (13.5). He enumerates the non-finite verb '*il*' and its variants '*illā*' and '*illai*' in Eḻuttatikāram (13.9).

e.g. *il poruḷ, illā-p-poruḷ, illai poruḷ,* etc.

15 6. Other References to Negative Verbs

While discussing the functional syncretism of cases, Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the case markers will have the same meaning (i.e., they will not deviate from their usual sense), even if they are followed by the negative verbs[9].

---

[7] According to modern linguistics, particles are a part of speech established by syntactical criteria. They are usually uninflected and hence exhibit no formal categories.

Nida, Eugene, Morphology, p. 149.

Hockett C. F,, *A Course in Mod:rn Linguistics,* p. 222.

[8] TE, 237, 372.

[9] TC, 107.

e.g. *yāl-oṭ-um koḷḷā* (PN, 92)

"They cannot be in harmony with the sound produced by *yāḻ*"

Here Tolkāppiyaṉār makes it evident that the negative verbs may also follow the case markers like the affirmative verbs.

Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the negative non-finite verbs in a sūtra and says that they do not lose the characteristics of other non-finite verbs[10] (13.20).

15.7. Is There Zero Negative in Tamil?

Many scholars consider that the mere absence of tense is enough to show the negative sense. Jules Bloch in conclusion of his discussions on negatives remarks that in the personal verb, *-a-* in contact with the terminational vowel, has disappeared; the result is that the negative verb is characterized only in relation to the positive by the absence of the temporal suffix[11]. Alfred Master says, "The zero negative is a morpheme of the verb finite with no tense infix, a zero-tense morpheme. The old Tamil tense system admits only three tenses. No tense infix is mentioned but the terminations of the 3rd. pl.n. are said to be *a*, *ā* and *va*, of which *ā* is understood to denote the negative (Col. 216)". Further, regarding the Dravidian verbs, he says "the positive and the negative forms of the incomplete aspect of the Dravidian verb are often indistinguishable in their recorded form, and there must have been some non-grammatical means of distinction"[12].

---

10 TC, 236.

11 Bloch, Jules. GSD, p. 66.

12 Master, Alfred, "The Zero Negative in Dravidian", TPS, 1946, p. 142, 150.

If one posits a zero, as suggested by Alfred Master in all the verbs having personal terminations, it becomes unnecessary and uneconomical.

15.8. Overt Negative Suffix

The pronominal terminations that occur in all the negative finite verbs do contain long vowels. Thus negative finite verbs are differentiated from the affirmatives by the absence of tense markers and by the consistent lengthening of personal markers. Of course, there are affirmative verbs also with long vowels as person markers. It must be remembered here that the person markers long or short, are not in contrast in the affirmative and negative, for in the affirmative they occur after tense markers and in the negative after the verbal stems.

Cēṉāvaraiyar points out the occurrence of the negative markers *-ā-* and *-ē-* in the personal verbs like *uṇṇāy* and *uṇṇēṉ*[13]. Dr. Caldwell states that the negative *-a-*, being succeeded in Tamil and Canarese by the initial vowel of the pronominal suffix, appears gradually to have got incorporated with it; and an evidence of this incorporation survives in the euphonic lengthening of the pronominal vowel in Tamil[14]. Jules Bloch, in his earlier discussion on negatives, points out that Dravidian has at its disposal a purely morphological means of expressing the negation; it is the intercalation of a vowel, generally *-a-* (sometimes reduced to zero) between radical and termination[15]. Dr. P. S. Sastri also considers that the negative marker *-ā-* occurs in the negative verbs.[16]

Dr. V. I. Subramoniam states in an article, "the negative suffix *-a-* occurs between verb stem and person marker. It has

---

13 Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 450.

14 Caldwell, R., op. cit., p. 471.

15 Bloch, Jules, op. cit., p. 66.

16 Sastri, P. S , HGT, p. 174, 175.

three allomorphs ~ *-e-* ~ *-a-* ~ *-i-*. Of which ~ *-e-* occurs between verb stem and first person marker *-e-*, ~ *-a-* occurs between verb stem and third person marker *-a-* and ~ *-i-* occurs between verb stem and second person marker *-i-*. In short, the shape of the succeeding personal marker determines the shape of the preceding negative marker[17].

Thus it is evidently proper to identify an overt negative marker in the negative verbs. In Tolkāppiyam only the negatives of the third person finite verbs, a few verbal nouns and of the non-finite verbs are found to occur. In the third person finite verbs where there is an elongated vowel, two kinds of analyses are possible.[18]

1. To take *-ā-* as a negative marker and *-a-* as a person marker,[19] i.e., *-ā-* + *-a-* > *-ā-*

$$\bar{V} + V = \bar{V}$$

2. To take both the negative marker and the person marker as short vowels, i.e., *-a-* + *-a-* > *-ā-*

$$V + V = \bar{V}$$

Whichever might be the original suffix of negation the former way of analysis is preferred in this study, since *-ā-* is found to occur as a negative marker in some of the actual instances, such as in *cey-ā-mai=ceyyāmai* and in 'ceyyātu' pattern of adverbial participles, *cey-ā-tu.*

---

17 Subramoniam, V. I., "Negatives", *TCult.*, VIII (1959), p. 34.

18 The negative verbs like *uṇṇēṉ*, *uṇṇīr*, etc., may be segmented as *uṇ-ē-e-ṉ*, *uṇ-ī-i-r*, etc., and *-ē-*, *-ī-* may be treated as allomorphs of the negative marker *-ā-*

19 The vowels *-ā-* + *-a-* or *-a-* + *-a-* become coalesced into one long *-ā-*.

Rational Finite Verbs

kiḷavār	*kiḷa-ā-a-r*	(TC, 38, 41)
uraiyār	*urai-ā-a-r*	(TP, 187)
nērār	*nēr-ā-a-r*	(TP, 580)
peṟān	*per (u) -ā-a-ṉ*	(TP, 128)

Non-rational Singular Verbs

tiriyātu	*tiri-ā-a-tu*	(TE, 163)
nilaiyātu	*nilai-ā-a-tu*	(TE, 322)
nillātu	*nil-ā-a-tu*	(TC, 44)

Non-rational Plural Verbs

icaiyā	*icai-ā-a-ϕ*	(TC, 48)
koḷḷā	*koḷ-ā-a-ϕ*	(TC, 124)
piriyā	*piri-ā-a-ϕ*	(TC, 140)

15.9. Negative Adverbial Participles.

The 'ceyyātu' pattern of negative adverbial participle is found to occur in Tolkāppiyam. This may be segmented as *cey-ā-tu*; *-tu* is an adverbial participle marker occurring after negative marker *-ā-*

Dr. V. I. Subramoniam segments the above pattern of adverbial participles as *cey-āt-u* and identifies *-āt-* as negative marker[20]. He argues that if *-ā-* is taken as negative marker, the segmentation leaves out *-t-*, which is irregular. It is acceptable to all that in the segmentation of a word, no part should be left unaccounted. But since language is patterned as a whole and the treatment of part should be in relation to the whole, one may take *-ā-* as negative marker and *-t-* with *u*, i e.. *-tu* as participle marker that occurs after

[20] Subramoniam, V. I., op. cit., p. 34-35.

the negative marker *-ā-*. The termination *-tu* might have been formed on the analogy of *-tu* found in the numerous occurrences of past tense participles of 'ceytu' pattern[21].

aṟiyātu	*aṟi-ā-tu*	(TP, 666)
nilaiyātu	*nilai-ā-tu*	(TC, 419)
muṭiyātu	*muṭi-ā-tu*	(TC, 233)

The identification suggested above is in accordance with the general pattern found in other similar instances of Tamil language. It may be pointed out here that the non-finite forms *aṉṟu* and *iṉṟu* also may be segmented as to have the alomorph of *-tu*, namely *-ṟu* as participle marker occurring after negative roots '*al*' and '*il*' (13.5).

aṉ-ṟu	*(al-tu)*	*aṉṟu*
iṉ-ṟu	*(il-tu)*	*iṉṟu*

15.10. Negative Adjectival Participles.

The negative adjectival participles of 'ceyyā' pattern is found to occur in Tolkāppiyam. It is evident that the 'ceyyāta' pattern of the negative adjectival participles, which might have been formed on the analogy of the 'ceyta' pattern of adjectival participles and the 'ceyyātu' pattern of negative adverbial participles may be of later development in Tamil, as it is not found to occur in Tolkāppiyam.

The 'ceyyā' pattern non-finite verbs may be segmented as *cey-ā-a.*

---

21 According to Dr. Caldwell, the suffix *-tu* is the formative of neuter nouns of quality. Therefore one can infer that according to him, the neuter nouns have given rise to the verbal participles (Caldwell, op. cit., p. 472). But it is not the actual case.

aṟiyā	*aṟi-ā-a*	(TC, 31)
puṇarā	*puṇar-ā-a*	(TC, 37)
tiriyā	*tiri-ā-a*	(TC, 45)

A zero may be posited at the end to represent the plural marker.

15.11. **Negative Verbal Nouns.**

There are a few forms of negative Verbal nouns in the 'ceyyāmai' pattern also found to occur in Tolkāppiyam. This pattern of verbal nouns may be segmented as *cey-ā-mai*; *-mai* is a noun-forming suffix.[22].

aṟiyāmai	*aṟi-ā-mai*	(TC, 342)
eyyāmai	*ey-ā-mai*	(TC, 342)
vaḻāmai	*vaḻ-ā-mai*	(TC, 398)

A few forms of 'ceyyāmai' pattern occur as adverbial participles also.

22 Subramoniam, V. I., op. cit., p. 40.
Dr. V. I. Subramoniam segments *-āmai* as the suffix of 'ceyyāmai' pattern of forms.

16 Passive Voice

16.0. Tolkāppiyanār does not explicitly describe the passive voice in his work. But one can infer from the stray evidences in Tolkāppiyam[1] that the concept of passive sense (voice) was recognized even before the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār.

16.1. Active Verbs Used in the Passive Sense.

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār the third case is used to denote the agent (the doer) of an action also[2]. He does not give any example to illustrate the above usage. But such a usage is possible only if the passive sense was recognized in his time. Thus it is obvious that the passive sense must have been employed to express the action of an agent-noun in the third case. But in the examples cited by the commentators from Caṅkam literature, the verbal forms are mostly used in the active voice itself.

e.g. *Taccaṉ ceyta ciṟumā vaiyam* (Kuṟu., 61)

Tiyiṉāṟ cuṭṭa puṇ (TK, 129)

"The wound caused by fire"

The verbs *ceyta* and *cuṭṭa* are in the active voice, but they express the passive sense.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that according to the traditional usage the object may be used like an agent of an action (i.e., the object may occur as the subject)[3].

---

[1] TC, 73, 246.

[2] TC, 73.

[3] TC, 246.

e.g. *Tiṇṇai meḻukiṟṟu* "The pial (is) cleaned"

Kalam kaḻiiṟṟu "The vessel (is) washed"

Here the object agrees with the predicate as the subject itself would do, i.e., it takes a verbal predicate in the active voice. The object, occurring as subject and the verbal predicate are in agreement with each other.

Thus it may be concluded that, in Tamil, generally the active form of the verb itself serves the purpose of what is called passive. The phrase "vaḻakkiyaṉ marapē" that occurs in the sūtra dealing with the above usage evinces the fact that such a usage was more prevalent in the colloquial dialect at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār.

16.2. Periphrastic Formations

In Tolkāppiyam the verbal forms like eṉappaṭupa, collap-paṭṭaṉa, eṉappaṭuvatu[4], etc., are found used by the author. These forms are really in the passive voice; but Tolkāppiyaṉār does not discuss the formation of this kind of passive voice in his work. These forms are formed by suffixing the auxiliary verb *paṭu* - "to experience" which is reduced to a suffix, to the infinitive forms of verbs.

e.g. *eṉa-p-paṭu-p-a*

colla-p-paṭu-aṉ-a

Dr. Caldwell opines that the use of the more formal modern passive, *colla-p-paṭṭatu*, would sound awkward and foreign[5]. Dr. A. C. Chettiar, rightly ridiculing the views of Dr. Caldwell, establishes the fact that the employment of '*paṭu*'

[4] TE, 1; TC, 118, 198; TP, 660.

[5] Caldwell, R., CGD, p. 465, 466.

for the purpose of conveying passive significance is very old[6]. Ramakrishnaiah also claims that the use of '*paṭu*' in Dravidian languages is pretty old[7]. After a deep study of the passive usages in Tolkāppiyam and other Caṅkam works, Dr. Chettiar carefully arrives at the conclusion that the ancient literature bears testimony to the fact that the passive was often-times expressed by means of the active forms and that '*paṭu*' which alternated with '*uṇ*' and '*peṟu*' gained the widest use in course of time[8].

16.3. Conclusion

Thus it is evident that during the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār the passive sense was expressed by two different devices.

1) by the active verbal forms
2) by the periphrastic formation '*paṭu*'

Tolkāppiyaṉār formulates a rule governing the former device; but makes use of the latter one. One may rightly conclude that it has been the genius of the Tamil language to express the passive sense by the active verbal forms and that such a usage was more prevalent in the colloquial dialect of ancient Tamil-Nad and that the passive voice was very rarely expressed by periphrastic formation '*paṭu*'.

---

6 Chettiar, A. C., "The Passive Voice in Tamil" JAU, VII (1937), p. 128.

7 Ramakrishnaiah, K., "The Dravidian Passive", AORM II (1937-1938), p. 8.

8 Chettiar, A. C., op. cit., p. 130.

17 A Study of the So-called 'Iṭaiccol'

17.1. Why is '*Iṭaiccol*' called so?

Tolkāppiyaṉār groups the different kinds of affixes and particles (17.6) in Iṭaiyiyal and terms them 'iṭaiccol'.

Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar think that they are called 'iṭaiccol', because they mostly occur within words[1]. This reason does not hold good, since out of the seven sub-classes (17.4) of 'iṭaiccol' enumerated in Tolkāppiyam only one sub-class ('cāriyai' or flexional increment) occurs within words and that too is suffixed to the nouns. Others may attribute a reason that they occur between nouns and verbs[2]; but this too is not always the case. A third reason may be pointed out here that the traditional grammarians might have considered them to have only a partial status of words and that thus they named them 'iṭaiccol' which literally means mid-words. Of course the particles that come under 'iṭaiccol' (17.8) are uninflected words. But the affixes (17.7) that are included under 'iṭaiccol' ore dependent morphemes (i.e., bound morphemes).

17.2. Characteristics of '*Iṭaiccol*' According to Tolkāppiyaṉār.

Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly states that 'iṭaiccols' do not occur in isolation and that they form part of, or occur with nouns

---

[1] Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 249.
Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 251.

[2] Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 245.

or verbs[3]. Thus it is evident that according to Tolkāppiyanār they are not independent forms.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that 'iṭaiccols' may occur before or after other words[4]. It must be pointed out here that affixes (17.7) in Tamil always occur after the words, i.e., they are suffixed to the words. There are no prefixes in Tamil. Dr. P. S. Sastri cites the example *koṉṉūr* as an approximation to preposition in early literature[5]. But it is really a compound formed of two nouns. However, the particles may occur before or after other words.

e.g.	*makaṉ-ai*	(-ai case suffix)
	Eṟṟeṉ uṭampin eḻilnalam	"The beauty of my body is a past thing".

Here the particle *eṟṟu* occurs before another word.

yāṉē maruḷvēṉ? (Kuṟa., 76) "Will I get confused"?

Here the particle *-ē* occurs after another word.

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, one 'iṭaiccol' may be followed by another[6]. For instance the flexional increments will be followed by the case markers, e.g., *atu-aṉ-ai*; *-aṉ-* is flexional increment and *-ai* is case marker. In the sentence '*varukatil-l -amma eñcēri*' (AN, 276) "Let him come to our quarters and ...." the particle '*til*' is followed by another particle '*amma*'.

Further, 'iṭaiccol' may be modified in form[7]. Here the changing shapes of 'cāriyais' (*-attu-*, *-tt-*, *-ttu*; 7.7) and of

[3] TC, 159, 249.

[4] TC, 251.

[5] Sastri, P, S., HGT, p. 198.

[6] TC, 251.

[7] Ditto.

the case markers (*-ai* > *-a*; *-ku* > *ka*) may be cited as examples. The commentators cite the examples like *uṭaṉuyir pōkuka tilla* (Kuṟu., 57), in which '*til*' has become '*tilla*.'

17.3. '*Iṭaiccol*' **and Meaning.**

Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar state that 'iṭaiccols' do not have meaning of their own[8]. Tolkāppiyaṉār clearly states that all '*col*' denote meaning[9]. Here it must be remembered that according to Tolkāppiyaṉār 'iṭaiccol' is also a kind of 'col'. Dr. P. S. Sastri seems to give a better explanation, by stating that nouns and verbs connote their meanings, while case suffixes, verbal terminations, etc., which are classified under 'iṭaiccol' suggest their meaning[10]. Thus according to him the particles and affixes suggest meanings.

Referring to the specific function of 'iṭaiccols', Tolkāppiyaṉār states that they differentiate the meaning of other words[11]. Here it evidently means that they differentiate the relation between the governing base words to which they are suffixed or between words in sentences. For instance, the case marker -ai in '*makaṉ-ai*' specifically defines the character of makan's relation to the following verb as its object, since the stem '*makaṉ*' by itself, admits of several kinds of relation such as the subject, instrument, recipient, etc. Similarly the particle -ō in *vantāṉō* makes the assertive verb *vantāṉ* an interrogative verb and so on.

---

[8] Cēṉā., op. cit , 249.
Nac., op. cit., 251.

[9] TC, 155.

[10] Sastri, P. S., *A Commentary on* TC, 157.

[11] TC, 455.

17.4. Classification of '*Iṭaiccol*' According to Tolkāppiyaṉar.

Tolkāppiyaṉār divides 'iṭaiccol' into seven sub-classes[12]. They are :-

1. the sandhi or flexional increments ('cāriyais'),
2. the verbal terminations which occur with tense markers,
3. the case markers,
4. the expletive particles,
5. the euphonic particles,
6. the suggestive particles and
7. the particles of comparison.

17.5. Is '*Iṭaiccol*' a Word-class in Tamil ?

Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly states that, in Tamil, nouns and verbs are the two word-classes[13]. In the immediately following sūtra, he says that 'iṭaiccol' and 'uriccol' form part of, or occur with the nouns and verbs[14]. Thus it is evident that Tolkāppiyaṉār accords a secondary status to 'iṭaiccol' and 'uriccol' in the system of parts of speech in Tamil. Though he makes a distinction between the former two and the latter two in the very treatment itself, he employs the term 'col' to refer to all the four groups of forms.

The term 'col' in Tolkāppiyam is not a corresponding one to the term 'word' used by modern linguists. The word, according to linguists, is the minimum free form, whereas the term 'col' includes not only the words like nouns, verbs,

---

[12] TC, 250.

[13] TC, 158.

[14] TC, 159.

particles, etc, but also bound morphemes, i. e., affixes that are included under 'iṭaiccol'.

The classification of parts of speech is allowed only at the word-level. The part of speech of a word is that of its stem[15]. Since, the affixes which are also included under 'iṭaiccols' are not words, it is evident that 'iṭaiccols', as a whole, do not form a separate part of speech.

17 6. **Classification of '*Iṭaiccol*' from the Modern Point of View**

As indicated in the beginning (17.1), from the point of view of modern linguists, the seven sub-classes of 'iṭaiccol' enumerated by Tolkāppiyaṉār (17.4) can be classified into two major groups:- 1. affixes, 2. particles. The first three sub-classes of 'iṭaiccol' are evidently affixes and the remaining classes may be considered as particles. The particles which are separated from the affixes may be identified as a class of uninflected words.

17.7. **Affixes.**

Affixes are bound morphemes or dependent morphemes. They characterize the word-classes in Tamil. The first three sub-classes of 'iṭaiccol', which are really affixes, are briefly discussed here.

17.7.1. **Sandhi or Flexional Increments** ('Cāriyais')

They occur between the nouns and the case markers or other words. They have been studied and analysed in detail in chapter seven.

17.7.2. **Affixes that occur with Tense in Verbs.**

According to Iḷampūraṇar this sub-class of iṭaiccol' includes only the verbal terminations, *-aṉ*, *-āṉ*, *-am*, *-ām*, etc.[16]

---

15 Hockett, C. F., *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 221.

16 Iḷa., *A Commentary on* TC, 244.

But according to Cēṉāvaraiyar and others, it includes the tense markers also[17]. According to Prof. S. Ilakkuvaṉār, it refers to the tense markers alone[18]. Teyvaccilaiyār explicitly points out that the second sub-class of 'iṭaiccol' includes not only the tense markers but also the pronominal terminations, *-am*, *-ām*, etc.[19] A close study of Tolkāppiyam will reveal the fact that it includes the tense markers and the pronominal terminations (person markers+number or number-gender markers), since it is identified by "that which occurs with tense in verbs".

The tense markers are discussed in detail, in chapter fourteen and the pronominal terminations are treated in chapter nine.

17.7.3. Case Markers.

The case markers characterize the nouns in Tamil and they are discussed in chapter six.

17 8. Particles.

According to modern linguists, the particles are a part of speech; they are uninflected and hence exhibit no formal categories and they are relatively shorter than other parts of speech[20]. C. F. Hockett terms them as uninflected stems.[21].

---

17 Cēṉā., op. cit., 250.

18 Ilakkuvaṉār, S., Semantemes and Morphemes in Tamil Language, p. 16.

19 Tey., op. cit., 246.

20 Nida, Eugene, *Morphology*, p. 149, 202, 232.
Hockett, C. F., op. cit., p. 222.
Pei, Mario A., and Frank Gaynor, *A Dictionary of Linguistics*, p. 161.

21 Hockett, C. F., op. cit., 222.

In Tamil also, the particles are a class of uninflected stems. Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses many of them in Iṭaiyiyal. Dr. Zvelebil includes the particles as a class of words under the parts of speech system of the Tamil language. He reiterates this view in a number of his contributions[22].

Referring to the particles, Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran says that some of these were originally independent words which have been reduced to the position of mere particles which cannot therefore now occur as independent words[23]. Independent words can themselves compose sentences, e.g., *yār?* "who" *vā* "come", *ammā* "o mother!" etc. Particles cannot themselves form sentences but can suggest difference in meaning in sentences.

17.9. **Particles and Clitics.**

Nida opines that the particles are frequently clitics[24]. Dr. V. I. Subramoniam suggests that all the particles discussed in Iṭaiyial may be identified by the terminology "clitics"[25]. But, here, clitics are treated only as a sub-class of particles. Dr. Zvelebil also distinguishes them from proper particles[26]. Clitics are structurally bound particles which have syntactically pertinent distribution. They are bound words which occur in more than one relative position and whose grammatical attachment may be to the expression as a whole.

---

22 Zvelebil, K.. "Review to Tamil skij jazyk" Ar. Or., 29 (1961), p. 706.

———, *Lectures on Historical Grammar of Tamil*, p. 20, 21.

———, "More About Adverbs and Adjectives in Tamil," TCult., IX (1961), p 289.

23 Meenakshisundaran, T. P., *Collected Papers*, p. 235.

24 Nida, Eugene, op. cit., p. 149.

25 Subramoniam, V. I., A personal communication.

26 See note 22.

A few clitics are not included in Iṭaiyiyal by Tolkāppiyaṉār, but are discussed elsewhere[27]. Since they are also structurally particles, a brief study of all the clitics is attempted at the end of this chapter (17.14).

17.10 Expletive Particles.

Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates about thirty forms of 'acainilai' or 'uraiyacai', which usually occur in poetry. 'Acainilai' or expletive particle in its literal sense fills up the metrical requirments only and should have no meaning. The commentators on Tolkāppiyam also claim that they do not convey any meaning. Prof. Ilakkuvaṉār considers them as empty words used to fill up the metres[28].

But a deep and detailed study of the expletive particles listed by Tolkāppiyaṉār and of their occurrence in Caṅkam literature will reveal the fact that they are not mere expletives but they are used with certain significance, such as emphasizing a thing, inviting the attention, expressing a feeling, desire or command, etc. In the end of Iṭaiyiyal, Tolkāppiyaṉār says that learned men should assign to them such meanings not specified here (in the chapter on 'iṭaiccol') but suggested in the particular combinations with nouns and verbs, even though it has been shown that each particle denotes a particular meaning[29]. It is interesting to note that Tolkāppiyaṉār does not mention anywhere that 'acainilai' does not convey meaning. Since the expletive particles also are a sub-class of a kind of 'col' (iṭaiccol), according to him, they should also convey meaning because he says that all 'col' (words) denote meaning[30].

---

27 TE, 31, 32, etc.

28 Ilakkuvaṉār. S., op. cit., p. 16.

29 TC. 295, 296.

30 TC, 155

According to Dr. Zvelebil, they are of emphatic or intensifying function. He says that it is very difficult to analyse the origin and exact nature of some of those particles termed 'acaiccol' or 'uraiyacai'[81]. Further he opines that the so-called 'acaiccoṟkaḷ' are lexical means to express emphasis[82]. Dr. V. I. Subramoniam also, in a personal communication, has expressed his disagreement with the view of Cēṉāvaraiyar, that the expletive particles are meaningless.

Thus it may be reasonable to conclude that the so-called expletive particles convey some shades of meaning, which can be identified in the contexts of their occurrence alone. Sometimes it may be hardly possible to determine the specific significance of a particular particle, but still it gives the impression that it conveys meaning (i.e., it denotes a shade of difference in meaning).

A few of the so-called expletive particles enumerated in Tolkāppiyam have been arrived at those shapes (forms) due to metanalysis, e.g., *ika*, *ciṉ*, *miyā*, *mō*, etc. Some others are verbs in form and are used as expletive particles with different shades of meaning, having lost their original sense, e.g., *āka*, *ākal*, *eṉpatu*, etc. Some forms of the expletive particles may be segmented into constituent morphemes; but with regard to their function as particles in ancient literature, they must be taken as single units, e.g., *ākal*, *āka*, etc. Here one is prone to assume that some of these forms must have coexisted as particles and as full words in ancient Tamil. Such forms are said to be homophonous in nature.

The expletive particles, enumerated by Tolkāppiyaṉār are, here, arranged in the alphabetical order and are discussed briefly.

---

81 Zvelebil, K., "Emphasis in Early Old Tamil", TCult., VI (1957), p. 230, 231.

82 Ibid., p. 234.

(1) *antil* (TC, 267),

(2) *arō* (TC, 279),

(3) *āṅka* (TC, 277),

(4) *āka* (TC, 280),

(5) *ākal* (TC, 280),

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that *āka* and *ākal* occur in duplication, when they are particles. According to Cēṉāvaraiyar, they are used to suggest disagreement or doubts on a statement.[88]

(6) *ār* (TC, 271)

(7) *ika* (TC, 274)

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, *ika* occurs only in the second person.

e.g. *kaṅṭika kaṇṭu(u)-ika (kaṇṭ(u)-i-ka*

In the examples cited by the commentators, it is found that *-ika* is suffixed to the 'ceytu' pattern of adverbial participles Since Tolkāppiyaṉār prescribes the use of *-ika* in the second person, *ika* may be segmented as *-i-ka* and *-i-* may be identified as second person marker It is evident from the examples that the verbs with *-ika* termination are of optative signification. So, one may assume that *-ka* is an optative marker. But it must be remembered here that according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the optatives usually occur in the third person (12.1.2). Perhaps, this might have been the reason why he groups *-ika* which occurs in the second person, with the expletives, considering the preceding second person marker also as a part of it

(8) *ikum* (TC, 274, 275)

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, *ikum* occurs in all the three persons.

---

[88] Cēṉā, op. cit., 280.

e.g. *kaṇṭikum* (AK, 121) First person.

The form *ikum* may be considered as an obsolete from of auxiliary verb formed from the verbal root *ī*. Thus the form may be segmented as *i-k(u)-um*. *ī* might have been shortened to *i-* on the analogy of the initial short vowels found in most of the auxiliary verbs, e.g., *iru*, *nil*, *viṭu*, *aruḷ*, etc.

ī-	- root
-k(u)-	- formative
-um	- suffix which can be identified with the termination of the 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs.

The form *ikum* is in the 'ceyyum' pattern. Since Tolkāppiyaṉār restricts the use of the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern to the third person only (12.2.1), he might have treated the form *ikum* which occurs in all the persons under the expletives. Further it is interesting to note that Naṉṉūl also groups some of the auxiliary verbs (e.g., *iruntu*, *iṭṭu*, *niṉṟu*, etc.) under 'iṭaiccol' [34]. So, it may not be wrong to assume that the grammarians are accustomed to group the obsolete and rare forms of auxiliary verbs under 'iṭaiccol'

(9) *eṉpatu* (TC, 280)

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, *eṉpatu* occurs in duplication, when it is a particle. Cēṉāvaraiyar says that if one says in reply '*eṉpatu eṉpatu*', it suggests the meaning "well said" or "ill said"[35]. Such a usage is not current in modern Tamil.

(10) *ē* (TC, 252, 272),
(11) *kā* (TC, 279),
(12) *kurai* (TC, 272),
(13) *ciṉ* (TC, 274, 275).

[34] Naṉ., 441.

[35] Cēṉā., op. cit., 280.

Tolkāppiyaṉār includes *ciṉ* in the list of second person expletive particles and adds that it may occur in the first and third persons also. A number of forms with *-ciṉ* termination occur in Caṅkam literature. Those forms are either verbs or participial nouns (5.4). Tolkāppiyaṉār does not consider *-ciṉ* as a verbal termination.

Naccinārkkiṉiyar rightly indicates that the existence of the termination *-ciṉ* is found in the form of *iciṉ* also[36].

e.g. *uraitticiṉ* (PN, 167) *uraitt(u)-iciṉ*

kaṇṭiciṉ (PN, 22) *kaṇṭ(u)-iciṉ*

pōṉṟiciṉ (AK, 74) *pōṉṟ(u)-iciṉ*

Here, it is evident that the form *iciṉ* is added to the 'ceytu' pattern of adverbial participles. The so-called expletive particle '*ciṉ*' might have been arrived at by Tolkāppiyaṉār by wrongly segmenting the *-iciṉ* ending words.

All the forms, in which *icin* occurs, can be divided into two groups on the basis of their different moods :- (1) imperatives (2) indicatives. It is evident from Caṅkam literature that all the imperative forms with *iciṉ* (*cin*) are used only in reference to the second person singular and that all the indicative verbs, which occur mainly in the first and third person and rarely in the second person, refer to the past tense only[37].

The imperatives with the termination *iciṉ* are already described (11.4). Dr. Sathasivam thinks that *i-* which occurs before *ciṉ* is formed from the verbal root *ī* and is used in the imperatives as an imperative marker[38]. A different way of identification is cited in the present study (11.4). *Iciṉ* is

[36] Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 297, 298

[37] Sathasivam, A., "The Suffix "Cin" in Caṅkam Tamil", TCult., VII (1958), p. 140-149.

[38] Ibid, p. 145.

identified as an obsolete auxiliary verb formed from the root *ī*. Thus *icin* is segmented as *i-cu-in*.

ī verbal root

ī > *i* on the analogy of the short initial vowel found in the auxiliary verbs, *aruḷ*, *iru*, *iṭu*, *viṭu*, etc.

-*c*(*u*)- formative

-*ku*- > -*cu*- due to palatalization

-*in* is identified as a particle in the imperatives. It may be used to invite attention.

In the indicative verbs the final morph -*in* has to be identified in a different way. It may be identified as a past tense marker. Tolkāppiyaṉār also makes use of a few indicative forms having the so-called expletive particle -*cin*.

nuvaṉṟiciṉē	(TE, 102)	*nuvaṉṟu-iciṉ-ē*
uṇarnticiṉōr	(TC, 116)	*uṇarntu-iciṉ-ō-r*

Thus it may be concluded that -*ciṉ* (*iciṉ*) is not an expletive particle; that it has been arrived at by wrong segmentation; that the proper form *iciṉ* is an auxiliary verb formed from the verbal root *ī*; that the final morph is a particle in the imperatives and that it is a past tense marker in the indicative verbs.

(14) *piṟa* (TC, 279)
(15) *piṟakku* (TC, 279)
(16) *pō* (TC, 279)
(17) *pōlum* (TC, 278)

This may be used to suggest doubt on something.

(18) *mati* (TC, 274) *m-ati* (Ref. 11.9)
(19) *maṟṟu* (TC, 262)
(20) *mātu* (TC, 279)
(21) *mā* (TC, 273)

An expletive particle with optative significance (12.1.1)

(22) *miyā* (TC, 274)

This form has been well described under the imperatives (11.7).

-m(-i) -y ā

-m second person honorific singular imperative marker

-i- excrescent sound (phoneme)

-yā particle (11.7,11) used to invite attention.

(23) *mō* (TC, 274)

The occurrence and the description of this form also are cited under imperatives (11.5).

-m- second person plural or honorific singular imperative marker.

-ō- particle (11 5, 11) used to invite attention.

(24) *yā* (TC, 279)

In Eccaviyal Tolkāppiyaṉār cites a few verbal forms which can occur as expletive particles. He says that the words *kaṇṭīr, koṇṭīr, ceṉṟatu,* and *pōyiṟṟu* when followed by an interrogative particle are said to function as 'acaiccol' - "expletives".

e.g. *kaṇṭīrē, koṇṭīrē, ceṉṟatē, pōyiṟṟē* (TC, 425)

When these words do not convey the sense of verbs + interrogative particle, they are said to be used to invite attention and therefore according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, they are of expletive function.

In the immediately following sūtra, Tolkāppiyaṉār states that when the words *kēṭṭai, niṉṟai, kāttai* and *kaṇṭai* (TC, 426) do not denote second person, they are also 'acaiccol' - "expletives". As expletive particle, these forms might have been used to invite attention.

Cēṉāvaraiyar points out that the eight forms mentioned above may occur in duplication, when they function as expletive particles[39].

The maximum limit for the repetition of expletive particles is twice (20.2.2).

17.11. Euphonic Particles

The fifth sub-class of 'iṭaiccol' is identified by Tolkāppiyaṉār as 'icainiṟai' - "the euphonic particles".

According to the commentators, they do not convey any meaning and they are particles which help to give sweet melody in poetry. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran also considers them as sound-fillers or metre fillers[40].

No overt significance can be assigned to the euphonic particles and thus their conveying any meaning is doubtful.

Tolkāppiyaṉār enumerates only two particles of this sub-class. The are *-ē* (TC, 272) and *kurai* (TC, 272).

Tolkāppiyaṉār prescribes the maximum limit for the repetition of euphonic particles to four times. (20.2.1).

17 12. Suggestive Particles

The sixth sub-class of 'iṭaiccol', according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, is the suggestive particles, to which he himself assigns specific meanings. Some of the suggestive particles occur in different shades of meanings in different contexts, which are to a large extent identified by Tolkāppiyaṉār.

---

39 Cēṉā., op. cit., 426.

40 Meenakshisundaran, T. P., *A History of the Tamil Language*, p. 75.

A few of these particles are real clitics, a sub-variety of particles, of which a detailed study will be attempted at the end of this chapter (17.14).

About twenty five suggestive particles are cited by Tolkāppiyaṉār. Out of these, four forms seem to be real nouns. They are (1) *el* (TC, 269) "brightness", (2) *koṉ* (TC, 254) "fear: uselessness: time: greatness", (3) *tañcam* (TC, 266) "state of being easy" and (4) *maṟṟaiyatu* (TC, 264), denoting objects of the same class as those which have been excluded The occurrences of these forms in Caṅkam literature also glean the fact that they are nouns. Vaiyapuri Pillai (TL) also identifies the first three as nouns. It is not known why Tolkāppiyaṉār includes them under 'iṭaiccol'[41].

The remaining forms are arranged in the alphabetical order and are discussed here.

(1) *antil* (TC, 267) A particle denoting the meaning "there".

(2) *antō* (TC, 282) A particle which may be used to suggest surprise, pity or wonder.

(3) *amma* (TC, 276) A particle which is used to invite attention.

(4) *oṉṉō* (TC, 282) A particle which may be used to express exclamation.

(5) *aṉṟē* (TC, 282) A particle which may be used to denote negative interrogation.

(6) *-um* (TC, 255) An enclitic (17.14 6) signifying

[41] It may be assumed here that these forms might have coexisted as nouns and as particles in usage at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār; that only as nouns they might have gained currency in literature and as particles they might have occurred in the colloquial dialects and that Tolkāppiyaṉār, here, refers to these forms as to their usages as particles.

1. incompletion, 2. speciality (of superiority or inferiority), 3. doubt, 4. negation, 5. universality, 6. copulation (conjunction), 7. definiteness and 8. becoming.

Tolkāppiyaṉār describes the syntactical peculiarities for the usage of the enclitic *-um* in several sūtras (TC, 283, 284, 285, 287, 291, 294). They are not discussed here.

(7) *eṟṟu* A particle used to indicate pity or wonder.

According to Vaiyapuri Pillai (TL), it is a tenseless finite verb of neuter singular. If it is so, it can be segmented as *eṉ-tu* (*eṟ-ṟu*)

eṉ- interrogative particle.

-tu neuter singular termination.

However, being a particle it functions as a single unit.

(8) *eṉa* (TC, 258) A particle functioning as a connector.

(9) *eṉā* (TC, 289) A particle functioning as a connector.

(10) *eṉṟā* (TC, 289) A particle functioning as a connector.

(11) *eṉṟu* (TC, 259) A particle functioning as a connector.

The immediately preceding four forms are real adverbial participles in form. They are formed from the verbal root *eṉ-*. Tolkāppiyaṉār describes their function as particles (connectors) in Iṭaiyiyal. According to the terminology of Hockett, they may be identified as impure markers[42]. (13.8).

---

[42] Hockett, C. F., op. cit., p. 192, 197, 214.

Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses the syntactical peculiarities of the usage of these forms in a few sūtras (TC, 287, 289, 290, 293, 294). They nre not discussed here.

(12) *-ē* (TC, 257) An enclitic (17.14.6) signifying 1. emphasis, 2. interrogation, 3. disjunction, 4. conjunction.

(13) *-oṭu* (TC, 294) An enclitic used as a connector

(14) *-ō* (TC, 256) An enclitic (17.14.6) signifying 1. disjunction, 2. interrogation, 3. negation, 4. ellipsis, 5. definiteness, 6. speciality of superiority or inferiority.

(15) *au* (TC, 281) A particle.

(16) *kol* (TC, 268) A particle used to express doubt.

(17) *til* (TC, 253, 260) A particle used to signify 1. desire, 2. time or 3. suggestion.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that when the particle '*til*' denotes desire, it occurs along with the verbs of the first person.

(18) *naṉṟē* (TC, 282) A particle which may be used to signify approval.

(19) *maṟṟu* (TC, 265) A particle used to express the change of action.

(20) *maṉ* (TC, 252) A particle used to signify the idea of the past, becoming and of ellipsis. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai says "That '*maṉ*' is a particle expressing certainty can be clearly established from its connection with the verbal root '*maṉ*' - "to exist or to persist". Thus he claims that the particle '*maṉ*' is derived from the verbal root *maṉ*[48].

(21) *maṉṟa* (TC, 265) A particle used to denote certainty. Sivaraja Pillai thinks that *maṉ* and *maṉṟa* are of the same

[48] Sivaraja Pillai, K. N., *The Chronology of Early Tamil*, Appendix, VIII, p. 240, 241.

significance. He says "Though Tolkāppiyaṉār tries to draw a distinction between *maṉ* and *maṉṟa* in the usage of the early poets they differ only in quantity and not in meaning. Both import certainty"[44].

17.13 0. **Particles of Comparison.**

Tolkāppiyaṉār identifies the seventh sub-class of 'iṭaiccol', the particles of comparison by the phrase *'oppil vaḻiyāl paruḷ ceykunavum'* - "those which are not derived from the roots denoting similarity but are conveying the idea of similarity." Dr. P. S. Sastri interprets this as particles of comparison not derived from the roots, which mean similarity. However, it is evident that by this phrase Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the forms which he speaks of in Uvamaiyiyal. There he enumerates thirty eight forms as representatives of this sub-class of 'iṭaiccol'. He divides the particles of comparison into four groups according to the different kinds of comparison they denote.

17.13.1. **Classification of Similes or Comparison.**

Tolkāppiyaṉār classifies the similes or comparisons into four kinds. They are : (1) the simile of action (viṉai uvamai)' (2) the simile of effect (payaṉ uvamai), (3) the simile of shape or form (mey uvamai) and (4) the simile of colour (uru uvamai)[45]

17.13.2. **Classification of Particles of Comparison**

Tolkāppiyaṉār divides the particles of comparison also into four classes according to their occurrence in different kinds of similes or comparison. They are particles of comparison (1) that are employed to denote the similarity of action, (2) that

44 Ditto.

45 TP, 286, 287.

are employed to denote the similarity of effect, (3) that are employed to denote the similarity of shape and (4) that are employed to denote the similarity of colour.

17.13.3. Particles That are Employed to denote Similarity of Action (Viṉai)

In the first kind of simile, the point of comparison is action, e.g., One walks like an elephant (*kaḷiṟaṉṉa naṭai*). Here one's act of walking is compared to that of an elephant. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the following particles are used, when such a point of comparison is stated.

1.	*aṉṉa*	*a-ṉṉ-a*	(TP, 287, 288)
2.	*āṅka*	*ā-ṅk-a*	(TP, 287)
3.	*iṟappa*	*iṟa-pp-a*	(,,)
4.	*uṟaḷa*	*uṟaḷ-a*	(,,)
5.	*eṉṉa*	*eṉ-a*	(,,)
6.	*takaiya*	*tak(u)-ai-a*	(,,)
7.	*nōkka*	*nōkk(u)-a*	(,,)
8.	*māṉa*	*māṉ-a*	(,,)

17.13.4. Particles That are Employed to denote Similarity Effect (Payaṉ)

In the second kind of simile, the point of comparison is effect, e.g., The patron offers like a cloud (*kāraṉṉa koṭai*). Here the effect of giving is compared to that of a cloud (which gives rain). The following particles are used, when such a point of comparison is stated.

1.	*aṉṉa*	*a-ṉṉ-a*	(TP, 288)
2.	*eḷḷa*	*eḷ-a*	(TP, 289)
3.	*kaḷḷa*	*kaḷ-a*	(,,)

4.	*pulla*	*pul-a*	(TP, 289)
5.	*poruva*	*poru-(v-)a*	(,,)
6.	*matippa*	*mati-pp-a*	(,,)
7.	*viḻaiya*	*viḻai-(y-)-a*	(,,)
8.	*vīḻa*	*vīḻ-a*	(,,)
9.	*vella*	*vel-a*	(,,)

17.13.5 Particles that are employed to denote Similarity of Shape or Form (Mey)

In the third kind of simile, the point of comparison is shape' e.g., The elephant has a winnow-like ear (*muṟam aṉṉa cevi*). Here the shape of the ear of the elephant is compared to that of the winnow. To express such a point of comparison, the following particles are used.

1.	*aṉṉa*		(TP, 288)
2.	*eyppa*	*ey-pp-a*	(TP, 290)
3:	*oṭṭa*	*oṭṭ(u)-a*	(,,)
4.	*oṭuṅka*	*oṭuṅk(u)-a*	(,,)
5,	*ōṭa*	*ōṭ(u)-a*	(,,)
6.	*kaṭuppa*	*kaṭu-pp-a*	(,,)
7.	*nikarppa*	*nikar-pp-a*	(,,)
8.	*puraiya*	*purai-(y-)a*	(,,)
9.	*maruḷa*	*maruḷ-a*	(,,)

17.13.6. Particles that are employed to denote Similarity of Colour (Uru)

In the fourth kind of simile, the point of comparsion is colour, e.g,, The tresses of hair of the lady are dark like clouds (*kāraṉṉa kūntal*). Here the colour of the locks of hair is compared to that of the clouds. To express such a point of comparison, the following particles are used.

1.	*aṉṉa*		(TP, 288)
2.	*oppa*	*o-pp-a*	(TP, 291)
3.	*kāytta*	*kāy-tt-a*	(,,)
4.	*nanta*	*nant(u)-a*	(,,)
5.	*naḷiya*	*naḷi-(y-)-a*	(,,)
6.	*nēra*	*nēr-a*	(,,)
7.	*pōla*	*pōl-a*	(,,)
8.	*maṟuppa*	*maṟu-pp-a*	(,,)
9.	*viyappa*	*viya-pp-a*	(,,)

It must be pointed out here that according to Tolkāppiyaṉār, *aṉṉa* is used to denote all the four kinds of similes.

17.13.7. Particles that are not Classified

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not include six particles of comparison under any of the classes above stated. They may be taken as common to all the kinds of similes.

1.	*eṉṟa*	*eṉ-ṟ(u)-a*	(TP, 286)
2.	*oṉṟa*	*oṉṟu-a*	(,,)
3.	*naṭuṅka*	*naṭuṅk(u)-a*	(,,)
4.	*nāṭa*	*nāṭ(u)-a*	(,,)
5.	*poṟpa*	*poṟp(u)-a*	(,,)
6.	*māṟṟa*	*māṟṟ(u)-a*	(,,)

17.3.8. Particles or Non-finite Verbs

It is, indeed, a very difficult problem to decide whether these forms are real particles or a type of non-finite verbs. The non-finite verbs are grouped and discussed under the class of words called verbs (13.1-20). These forms of comparison resemble the non-finite verbs in structure and behaviour to

some extent. Like many of the non-finite verbs (i.e., adjectival participles and infinitive participles) these forms also have the terminal suffix *-a*, which may be identified with the non-finite marker. Besides, except a very few forms (*aṉṉa, āṅka*, etc), all the forms are formed from verbal roots, i.e., their derivation can be traced back to the verbs roots. Thirdly, these forms occur in attributive construction with nouns or verbs, like the non-finite verbs. So, can they be treated as a sub-class of non-finite verbs? It is yet to be investigated before arriving at any definite conclusion.

On the contrary, they exhibit, to a large extent, the characteristics of particles also. Usually the non-finite verbs are dependent on the following complements, which are modified by them; but these particles of comparison are dependent on and bounded by both the preceding and the following words. For example, on can say,

piṟanta ñāyiṟu (PN, 6) "The sun which rose"

(or)

ceytu vantāṉ "having done came he"

but not

aṉṉa mukam "like face"

One has to say '*tāmarai aṉṉa mukam*' "lotus-like face" etc. Thus it is evident that the particles of comparison are less free than the non-finite verbs and that they are more syntactically related.

Secondly, the non-finite verbs are usually formed from the roots (stems), which are capable of occurring as imperative finite verbs, eg., 'ceyta' is formed from the stem' cey', which can itself occur as an imperative finite verb. But most of the stems from which the above particles of comparison are formed cannot occur as imperatives in the same sense with

which they occur in the particles. Thus, there is a distinction even between the stems of the finite verbs and those of the particles of comparison.

None of the above particles of comparison, as enumerated by Tolkāppiyaṉār, is inflected for tense. One of the main characteristics of particles is that of not being inflected (17.8). It may be pointed out here that though a few of the stems from which the above particles are formed are capable of being inflected for tense, the forms, as listed by Tolkāppiyaṉār, are not inflected for tense.

Particles may be formed by derivation[46]. A number of particles of comparison are also formed by derivation.

The above evidences, perhaps, might have been the reason why Tolkāppiyaṉār groups them under 'iṭaiccol'. These forms cannot be considered as full-fledged non-finite verbs. Thus one may arrive at the conclusion that they may be of a special type of particles which are semi-bound and uninflected but are derived.

17.13.9. Particles of Comparison Derived from clitics

Out of the thirty eight particles of comparison enumerated by Tolkāppiyaṉār, a couple of forms are derived from root clitics (17.14.6). They are *aṉṉa* and *āṅka*. They may be segmented as *a-ṉṉ-a* and *ā-ṅk-a*; *a-* ~ *ā-* demonstrative root clitic.

These forms are not at all capable of being inflected for tense.

---

[46] Nida, Eugene, op. cit., p. 202.
Entwistle, William J., *Aspects of Language*, p. 188.

17.14. More About Clitics

17.14.1. Clitics - A Grammatical Unit

Every languge has different types of grammatical units. The different grammatical units are morphemes, clitics, words, phrases and utterances. Of these units, clitic is a peculiar and rare grammatical unit, which is not found in many languages. Clitic is a layer of morpheme, which is either bound or dependent upon some free forms. Though they are grammatically loosely bound, phonologically they depend upon a free form to which they are adjacent. They never occur in isolation.

17.14.2. Clitics and Affixes

According to Nida, clitics and affixes are bound forms[47]. Then how do they differ from each other? The grammatical units which characterize the word-classes (parts of speech) of a language, may be identified as affixes. Clitics do not differentiate the word-classes. For example, in Tamil the clitic -*ō* occurs with *Irāmaṉ* (noun) and *vantāṉ* (verb); *Irāmaṉ-ō* "Is he Rama"? ; *vantāṉ-ō*? "Did he come?" But the affixes are restricted to a particular word-class. For instance, the case markers occur only with the nouns and the tense markers only with the verbs. Affixes bear grammatical meanings, whereas clitics seldom do. Clitics occur mostly after word-closing suffixes,

e.g. *Irāmaṉ-ai-ō* *cey-t-ā-ṉ-ō*

Affixes are a morphological category, whereas clitics are mostly a syntactical category.

17.14.3. Clitics and Words

Clitics are different from independent words. Dr. Zvelebil says "It seems that it is convenient to distinguish between

---

[47] Nida, Eugene, op. cit., p. 103, 201.

independent and dependent words. This contrast is based on potential isolatability"[48]. According to him independent words can compose sentences and dependent words cannot.

Clitics are dependent words which are not isolatable in the way in which independent words are but which have a more free distribution than dependent (suffix) morphemes. According to Pike, clitics are semi-free words[49]. Clitics do not exhibit inflexion, whereas independent words do. Hence it may be concluded that clitics are a type of particles, which are intermediate between affixes and words in freedom. They are semi-free and semi-bound at the same time.

17.14.4. Clitics and Immediate Constituents

Clitics do not necessarily form morphological constructions with the constituents with which they are phonologically bound. They fill slots on the higher level than the word level itself.

e.g. 1. *apperu* *nāṭu* "that big country"
a-peru *nāṭu*

2. *annāṭu* "that country"
a-nāṭu

In example one, *a-* does not form morphological construction with the constituent with which it is phonologically bound. It forms a construction with '*peru nāṭu*' and not with '*peru*' alone.

Clitics can be identified by the criterion of such freedom that other morphemes may come in between them and the form which they modify most directly. For example, the forms *nal*

48 Zvelebil, K., "How to Handle the Structure of Tamil" Ar. Or., 30 (1962), p. 131.

49 Pike, Kenneth, L. *Phonemics*, p. 165.

"good", *vaḷa* "fertile", *ciṟu* "small", etc., can be inserted between *a-* "that" and *nāṭu* "country". Thus it is evident that clitics have a greater freedom and only accidentally they form immediate constituents with items with which they are phonologically bound.

Therefore, Nida states that in the inventory of morpheme classess we must list these simple types of clitic structures, but their disttribution is described in syntax, since they form immediate constituents with phrases[50].

17.14.5. The Relation of Clitics to Free Forms

Clitics fall under two categories according to their presence or absence of relation to free forms.

1. Clitics which are bound alternants of free forms are written separately. Such a type of clitics is not available in Tamil. English has such clitics, e. g., a, the, will, would, etc[51].

2. Clitics which are not relatable to free alternants are written in combination with other words. Clitics, in Tamil, belong to this category and they are not relatable to any independent words,

e.g. *appeṇ* "that girl" *vantāḷā?* "Did she come"?

a-p-peṇ *vantāḷ-ā*

Here *a-* and *-ā* are clitics.

17.14.6. Types of Clitics

Clitics may be divided into three sub-classes according to their position of occurrence in relation to free forms. They are proclitics, enclitics and inclitics.

---

[50] Nida, Eugene, op. cit , p. 97.

[51] Ibid., p. 106.

(i) Proclitics are those clitics which occur before other words. In Tamil proclitics are of two kinds. They are: demonstrative proclitics and interrogative proclitics. These proclitics which are not treated in Iṭaiyiyal with other particles are discussed in Eḻuttatikāram. These may be called root clitics, since the words like *avaṉ, ivaṉ, uvaṉ*, "he", *yāvaṉ, evaṉ* "who", etc., can be formed from them.

1. Root clitics of Demonstration

a-, i-, u-	(TE, 31)
ā-, ī-, ū-	(TE, 417)

2. Root clitics of Interrogation

yā-	(TE, 178, 422, 427, 428)
	(TC, 31, 210)
e-	(TE, 159; TC, 31, 219)

(ii) Enclitics are those clitics which occur after other words. In Tamil, many of the clitics are enclitics, e.g., *-ā, -ē, -ō*, (TE, 31). These enclitics are not discussed in Iṭaiyiyal. These may occur after nouns and verbs, e.g., *aracaṉā*? "Is he king? *uṇṭāṉā*? "Did he eat", etc. These three may be identified as interrogative enclitics.

Tolkāppiyaṉār describes the different shades of meanings in which the enclitics *-ē, -ō* and *-um* (TC, 257, 256, 255) occur, in Iṭaiyiyal. It may be assumed that the enclitics *-ē* and *-ō* which are described as having different signification must have been original interrogatives (TE, 31; TC, 256, 257).

(iii) Inclitics are those clitics which occur between stems and affixes and between affixes[52].

---

[52] Agesthialingom Pillai, S., *A Description of the Language of Patiṟṟuppattu*, p. 160.

e.g.	*aṉaiya*	*a-ṉai-a*
	āṅka	*ā-ṅk-a*
	aṉṉa	*a-ṉṉ-a*

-*ṉai*-, -*ṅk*-, -*ṉṉ*- may be tentatively cited as examples for inclitics.[58]

[58] Sundaram, RM., *Grammatical Study of Pattuppāṭṭu*, p. 105
The suggestion posited here is not defended and hence it may require further investigation.

18 A Critical study of 'Uriccol'

18.0. Tamil grammatical tradition recognizes 'uriccol' as one of the four parts of speech in Tamil. Tolkāppiyaṉār considers it as a secondary part of speech[1] (17.1). He devotes the whole of the eighth chapter of Collatikāram for 'uriccol'.

18.1. 'Uriccol' According to Tolkāppiyaṉār

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that 'uriccols' form part of, or occur with nouns and verbs[2]. To define them, he states that they originate from sound, suggestion or quality and that their form may be modified in nouns and verbs[3]. It can be pointed out that all the words in a language originate only from sound, suggestion or quality. Thus the criterion of origin does not help to distinguish 'uriccol' from other parts of speech in Tamil. The second criterion of their modification in form also does not help to consider them as a separate word-class.

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār one of them may have many meanings and many of them may have one meaning[4]. Thus they may be divided into two groups:- (1) synonyms and (2) polysemes, i.e., forms of polysemies.

In Eccaviyal, Tolkāppiyaṉār mentions that even among 'uriccols', there may be some forms which serve as differentiating

[1] TC, 158, 159.

[2] TC, 159.

[3] TC, 297.

[4] Ditto.

words[5]. From this it may be inferred that the author here refers to the forms which precede and occur as attributes to nouns or verbs (a few modifiers (18.15) and the non-finite verbs, i.e, adjectival and adverbial participles formed from the verbal roots) enumerated in Uriyiyal.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that 'uriccols' are not of the nature of being further analysed into parts[6]. This criterion is applicable only to a few modifiers and to the verbal and nominal roots enumerated in Uriyiyal (18.12, 14, 15) but not to the derived nouns, which may be segmented into constituent morphemes, though not into free forms (18.13).

In Eḻuttatikāram, Tolkāppiyaṉār identifies 'uriccols' by the term 'kuṟaiccoṟkiḷavi'[7] "defective words".

18.2. Semantic Aspect of 'Uriccol' According to Tolkāppiyaṉar

Tolkāppiyaṉār explicitly states that one should give on the basis of usage, the meaning of that which is not frequently used, through another which is frequently used[8].

At the end of Uriyiyal Tolkāppiyaṉār states that words (uriccols) will reveal their meaning according to the contexts in which they occur. He adds, "if meanings other than those enumerated arise, they have to be accepted in addition; but there will be no limit if one attempts to give the meaning of the meanings given to uriccol"[9].

Further he states that meaning does not change even if it can be expressed in other ways; that the methods of expressing

---

5 TC, 456.

6 TC, 395.

7 TE, 482.

8 TC, 298.

9 TC, 390, 391.

meanings depend upon the capacity of those who know them and that it is not possible to explain why a word denotes a particular meaning[10].

In the last sūtra of Uriyiyal, he refers to the views of his predecessors and other scholars on the subject. He says "Forms are various and extensive. It is not possible to explain all of them. One should understand them in the way in which it was done by the ancients with the view that they should be understood and preserved[11]".

18.3. Scope of 'Uriyiyal' in Tolkāppiyam

Tolkāppiyaṉār specifically states that there is no necessity to explain the words easily known (common words) and that only the difficult and obscure words form the subject - matter of the chapter[12]. Thus it is obvious that the chapter on uriccol is not exhaustive but it contains only a select 'hard words' which were not easily understood at the time Tolkāppiyaṉār.

There are 120 forms of 'uriccols' enumerated in Tolkāppiyam. Some of the forms whose meanings are now very clear are also included in the list of non-patent forms of 'uriccol', e.g., *tīrtal, muḻutu, vaṟitu, paḻutu,* etc.

Tolkāppiyaṉār gives the list of synonyms first and then only the forms which have different meanings.

18.4. Is Uriyiyal a Chapter on Grammar?

Though Tolkāppiyaṉār attempts to discuss the definition of 'uriccol'[13], he does not succeed in giving a clear-cut definition.

10 TC, 392, 393, 394.

11 TC, 396.

12 TC, 298.

13 TC, 297.

The characteristics of 'uriccols' are not described in such a way as to consider them as a separate class of words. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not describe the morphological or the syntatical feature of 'uriccol' forms, as a whole.

What he states, sporadically, to describe them, applies to the different sections of the forms given in Uriyiyal and not to all the forms treated in the chapter. For example, when he refers to 'uriccol' as differentiating words, his reference applies to a limited number of modifiers and to the verbal roots from which the adverbial and adjectival participles are formed. His statement that 'uriccols' may have their forms modified in nouns and verbs, applies only to the nominal and verbal roots from which the nouns and verbs are formed and not to modifiers and derived nouns (18.12-15).

Thus it may not be unreasonable to conclude that the chapter on 'uriccol' is not at all connectd with the morphological or the syntactical portion of grammar and that it is only concerned with the forms which were not in current use at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. Here it may be pointed out that Vaiyapuri Pillai rightly considers that the section on 'uri' mainly consists of lexical matter[14].

With regard to the characteristics of 'uriccols', the later-day scholiasts and scholars have advocated a number of theories, most of which also do not cover to define all the different types of forms listed under 'uriccol' by Tolkāppiyaṉār or by the later-day grammarians. An attempt is made here to narrate the prevalent theories regarding 'uriccol' and to give a critical survey of them. To evolve a few common postulates, a further attempt will be made to describe the forms known as "uriccol' and to analyse whether they form a separate part

[14] Vaiyapuri Pillai, S., *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, p. 67.

of speech or they can be grouped under different parts of speech.

18.5. Theories Advocated by the Scholiasts and Scholars

There are about six different theories propounded by various learned men with regard to 'uriccol'. No theory is fully refutable as all of them are concerned with some characteristics of 'uriccol' as a whole or of at least a section of them The theories are : (1) the separate part of speech theory, (2) the poetical usage theory, (3) the dhātu theory, (4) the root theory, (5) the adjectives and adverbs theory and (6) the obsolete words theory.

18.6. The Separate Part of Speech Theory

Tamil grammatical tradition considers 'uriccol' as one of the word-classes. Tolkāppiyaṉār accords as seconadry status to 'uriccol' in the parts of speech system of Tamil language. According to Hockett, a part of speech is a form-class of stems which shows similar behaviour in inflexion, in syntax or in both[15]. The stems which follow a pattern of usage but do not follow some other patterns may be grouped into a class.

If one looks into the forms enumerated by Tolkāppiyaṉār in Uriyiyal, in the light of the above definition of part of speech, one can easily find that they do not exhibit similar behaviour in inflexion, etc. Some of the forms are not capable of being inflected for any grammatical category; but occur as attributes at the syntactical level, e.g. *uṟu, tava, naṉi,* etc. (18.15). About thirty forms are nouns formed of nominal roots and about twenty forms are derived nouns formed from the adjectival, verbal or nominal roots by the addition of certain suffixes (18.13). Others are verbal roots (enumerated

[15] Hockett, C. F , *A Course in Modern Linguistics,* p. 221.

in different patterns), from which the finite verbs, the non-finite verbs, etc.. can be formed.

The nouns and the verbs are of entirely different behaviour in inflexion and in syntax. The uninflected forms liks *uṟu*, *tava*, *naṉi*, etc., have also different behaviour. Hence it is evident that 'uriccols' do not form a separate part of speech. In Uriyiyal nouns formed of nominal roots, derived nouns, verbal roots and some modifiers, which cannot be classified under nouns or verbs, are being grouped.

One may rightly consider the roots, from which the derived nouns like *iṉṉal*, *ciṟumai*, *ceḻumai*, *naṉṟu*, *muḻutu*, *vaṟitu*, *viḻumam*, *vemmai*, etc , are formed, as adjectival roots and forms which cannot be classified under nouns or verbs and which occur as attributes to nouns or verbs as adjectives and advers[16]. Dr. Zvelebil also describes some of the adjectival roots in Tamil. Further, in a number of papers, he vividly points out and illustrates the existence of adjectives and adverbs in Tamil[17]. Though a few scholars do not agree with his view and claim that there are no real adjectives and

---

[16] In this study adjectives and adverbs are used as equivalents to noun-modifiers and verb-modifiers respectively. The general term modifiers include both the adjectives and adverbs.

[17] Zvelebil, K., "*Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu* - A Study in Late Old Philology", Ar. Or. 25 (1957), p. 56-88.

———, "The Existence of Adverbs in Tamil", TCult., VII (1959) p. 44-50.

———, Review to Tamil'skij jazyk", Ar. Or., 29 (1961), p. 704-707.

———, "More About adverbs and Adjectives", TCult., IX (1961), p. 281-290.

———, *Lectures on Historical Grammar of Tamil*, Madras, 1963.

adverbs in Dravidian languages[18], they also have to identify the noun-modifiers (noun-qualifiers) and verb-modifiers (verb-qualifiers) which are abundant in Tamil and in other Dravidian Languages and which will not permit one to classify them under nouns or verbs. In these circumstances, it may not be improper to class and group them under the labels adjectives and adverbs[19].

It is a happy thing to note that Dr. Zvelebil proves the existence of adjectives and adverbs in Tamil. Other eminent Dravidian scholars like Burrow, Emeneau, Alfred Master, C. R. Sankaran, A. C. Sekhar and M. Varadarajaṉār also recognize the existence of the above classes of words in Dravidian Languages[20].

---

18 Bloch, Jules, GSD, p. 42 (foot-notes).

Raghavan Pillai, K., "The Adjective in Malayalam" JKU, Silver Jubilee Special (1963), p. 111-124.

19 The terminology does not mean a great thing here; but only the different types of forms that are available are important. One may label them by whichever terminology he finds suitable; but the fact is that the modifiers distinguish themselves from nouns and verbs.

20 Burrow, T., *The Parji Language*, p. 32-35.

Burrow T., and Emeneau, M.B., *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.*

Emeneau M. B., *Kolami, A Dravidian Language*, p. 31-33.

Master, Alfred, "Review to Structure Grammaticale des Langues Dravidiennes", JRAS, 1949, p. 106-107.

Sankaran, C. R., "Middle Dravididan Morphology", BDCRI, IV (1945) p. 180.

Sekhar, A. C., "Evolution of Malayalam" BDCRI, XII (1951), p. 93-97; 146, 147.

Varadarajaṉār, M., Personal communication.

———, "Adjectives in Tamil-Old and New", AORM, XIX (1964) : II, p. 1-8.

But as far as Tolkpāpiyam and Tamil grammatical tradition are concerned, they do not recognize such word-classes in Tamil. However, a few forms of modifiers enumerated in Uriyiyal will lead one to identify a separate group of words which may be further classified into noun-modifiers and verb-modifiers. The noun-modifiers precede nouns and occur in attributive construction with nouns and verb-modifiers precede verbs and occur in attributive construction with verbs. In the present study, the terms qualifier and modifier are treated as equivalents, though there is a little difference between them. The noun-modifiers and verb-modifiers are considered as equivalents to the adjectives and adverbs respectively.

Uriyiyal includes about ten forms of modifiers, of which eight forms function as noun-modifiers only and the remaining two function as noun-modifiers as well as verb-modifiers. As the aim is to confine myself to the treatment of Tolkāppiyanār, a detailed study of the modifiers is not attempted in the present study.

18 7. The Poetic Usage Theory

Cēṉāvaraiyar states that there are some learned men who hold that 'uriccols' are called so, since they mostly occur in poetry[21]. The author of Naṉṉūl defines that 'uriccol' is that which is exclusively used in poetry[22]. But Tolkāppiyaṉār does not anywhere refer to the occurrence of 'uriccol' in poetry. It is evident from the first two sūtras of Uriyiyal that 'uriccol' was not in current use at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. Hence it can be assumed that 'uriccol' was frequent only in literature, i.e., in poetry. This assumption is further evidenced by the fact that all the commentators cite examples only from poetry to show their occurrence.

---

21 Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 297.

22 Naṉ, 442.

Finding no occurrence of most of these forms in spoken language, the scholiasts and the later-day grammarians might have developed this theory. This theory does not describe the status and function of 'uriccol' in the language but it simply gives an idea of their obsolescence.

18.8. The Dhatu Theory

Teyvaccilaiyār explicitly remarks that since Tolkāppiyaṉār mentions 'uriccols' as 'kuṟaiccoṟkiḷavi' - "defective words" in Eḻuttatikāram, they in Tamil and dhatu in Sanskrit are synonymous[28]. But the term 'uriccol' cannot be taken as identical with Sanskrit dhatu, since dhatu is, according to Sanskrit grammarians, a verbal root. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not suggest anywhere in his work that all nouns are derived from verbal roots nor do the later-day grammarians attempt to derive all nouns from them. There are nouns formed of and formed from nominal roots and other non-verbal roots included in Uriyiyal.

The modifiers *tava*, *naṉi*, *uṟu*, etc., and the nominals *ari*, *uru*, *eṟuḷ*, *urum*, etc , cannot be, at any cost, derived from the verbal roots. Thus the dhatu theory propounded by Teyvaccilaiyār does not hold good in the light of the different types of forms given in Uriyiyal and of the general characteristic features of Tamil language.

18.9. The Root Theory

Dr. P. S Sastri, Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, Dr. Ilakkuvaṉār and some others are of opinion that Tolkāppiyaṉār deals with the root morphemes in Uriyiyal. Thus according to them, it is a chapter on root morphemes (semantemes).

---

[28] Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 292.

Dr. P. S. Sastri states that this 'iyal' deals with the meanings of roots which were not easily understood at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār[24]. According to him, the list of 'uriccols' given by Tolkāppiyaṉār may be divided into that which deals with verbal roots and that which deals with nominal roots. He takes the forms *vārtal, pōkal, tirtal,* etc., as denoting only the verbal roots, *vār, pō, tir,* etc

He further states that 'uriccol' means the word denoting independent part of noun or verb; for the word '*urimai*' means "right" and hence independence[25].

Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran enunciates that the elements which denote the basic meaning are 'uriccol'. Elsewhere he states that from a study of the use of these words, one has to conclude that he (Tolkāppiyaṉār) is referring to the root morphemes by the term 'uriccol'[26]. Dr. Ilakkuvaṉār states that semantemes are 'uriccols'[27].

One has to admit that a good number of forms enumerated in Uriyiyal are either nominal or verbal roots. But a few forms of modifiers are not capable of being derived from the nominal or verbal roots, e.g. *tava, naṉi, uṟu,* etc. Secondly, about twenty derived nouns that are formed from nominal, verbal or adjectival roots by the addition of certain suffixes are not mere roots, e.g. *iṉṉal, oṟkam, cāyal, naṉṟu, muḻutu* etc

---

24 Sastri, P. S, *A Commentary on* TC, 297.

25 ———, HGT, p. 200, 202.

26 Meenakshisundaran, T. P., *Tamil Encyclopedia* Vol. V. p. 471.
———, *A History of the Tamil Language*, p. 74.

27 Ilakkuvaṉār, S., Semantemes and Morphemes in Tamil Language, p. 35.
"Semantemes ... .. are the roots which are the basis of the words of which the language is made" p. 35.

Thus it is evident that though a majority of the forms are either nominal or verbal roots, there are a few words which are not formed of mere roots, but of roots plus suffixes and some other words whose derivation from nouns or verbs can hardly be stated. Hence it is very difficult to conclude that Uriyiyal is a chapter on root morphemes.

18.10. The Adjective and Adverb Theory

Dr. Caldwell considers 'uriccol' as adjectives. He states that the Dravidian adjectives, properly so-called,........acquire the signification of adjectives merely by being prefixed to substantives without declensional change; and, in virtue of that acquired signification, they are called by Tamil grammarians 'uriccol', 'qualitative words'[28]. Prof Vaiyapuri Pillai considering them as adjuncts, states that they are a few indeclinables which always have the force of adjectives or adverbs[29]. Winslow identifies a few forms of 'uriccol' as adjectives and a few others as adverbs[30]. Professors Emeneau and Burrow also recognize a very few forms of 'uriccol' as adjectives in their etymological dictionary[31]. Dr. Zvelebil takes the term 'uriccol' to mean qualifiers. Criticizing the Tamil grammarians he states "Nevertheless, the fact that they treat adjectives and adverbs as a special class of words and denote them with the characteristic term 'uriccol' is itself very significant. In this connection it is necessary to observe some important facts: the ancient Tamil grammarians do not use the term peyar, nomen, noun, when speaking about adjectives and adverbs, but the more neutral

---

28 Caldwell, R. CGD, p. 308, 309.

29 Vaiyapuri Pillai, S., TL, Volume I, p. 441.

30 Winslow, M., TED, Volumes, I-III.

31 Burrow. T., and Emeneau, M. B., DED.

'col', "word"; thus it is clear that they do not consider 'uriccol', qualifiers, as nouns, but as a separate class of words"[82]. Beythan also translates 'uriccol' as "vox proprietatis, i.e. adjectivum"[83].

Though a few scholars claim that 'uriccol' is an equivalent to qualifiers or adjectives and adverbs, all 'uriccols' listed by Tolkāppiyaṉār are not qualifiers. It may be admitted that a few forms enumerated under 'uriccol' are qualifiers. They are further unanalysable into lexemes; they express some fundamental quality and they occur syntactically in attributive construction with the nouns which they precede[84]. Of them two forms *tava* and *naṉi* may precede verbs and occur in attributive constructions with the verbs also.

It is interesting to note that out of 120 forms about sixty forms precede nouns or verbs in the form of non-finite verbs; sometimes they are inflected for tense. They cannot be taken as a separate class of words other than non-finite verbs formed from the verbal roots. Many other forms are nouns. They are capable of occurring as subjects and of taking case markers. Though sometimes they occur as attributes to other nouns, as all other regular nouns do, they cannot be considered as regular modifiers or qualifiers.

Thus it may be reasonable to conclude that 'uriccol' and qualifiers are not equivalents in the real sense but the term

---

[82] Zvelebil, K., "The Existence of Adverbs in Tamil", p. 45 footnotes (See note 17).

[83] Beythan, Hermann, Praktische Grammatik Der Tamilsprache, p. 130.

[84] Emeneau, M. B., *Kolami, A Dravidian Language* p. 31.
"An adjective is a word that syntactically is in attributive construction with a noun which it precedes, but does not agree with the noun in gender or number".

'uriccol' may be used to identify the modifiers, since all other kinds of forms enumerated in Uriyiyal may be classified under other word-classes that are already described (2; 5; 8).

18.11. The Obsolete Words Theory

Dr. P. S. Sastri thinks that Uriyiyal deals with the meanings of roots which were not easily understood at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār[35]. The theory that all 'uriccols' are roots has already been refuted (18.9). Thus the forms listed in Uriyiyal must be considered as words rather than roots, to include both the root words and derived words. Dr. Varadarajaṉār opines that 'uriccols' are obsolete words, which can be traced back to their nominal or verbal origin; but the origin of a few words is obscure and intriguing[36].

It may be acceptable to everybody that 'uriccols' are obsolete words. That is why Tolkāppiyaṉār and other grammarians have had to present a list of them with their meanings. Tolkāppiyaṉār himself clearly states that he gives only the non-patent forms and that they should be understood by the known ones. Pavaṇanti states that they are exclusively used in poetry. Dr. P. S. Sastri rightly points out that they were not understood at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. Thus it is evident that these forms were used only in literature; were not in current use and were not easily understood at the time of the grammarians.

By pointing out their origin, Dr. Varadarajaṉār puts forth an idea which helps to trace their historicity. Many of the forms can be easily traced back to the nominal or verbal origin, yet a few forms can hardly be traced back to and described as nouns or verbs.

---

[35] Sastri, P. S. *A Commentary on* TC, 297.

[36] Varadarajaṉār. Personal communication.

In the following pages an attempt is made to classify the 120 forms of 'uriccol' under suitable heads according to their behaviour in inflexion and syntax on the basis of literary evidences and to assess their nature from a descriptive outlook[87]. The literary evidences are not given here; but they are critically analysed before arriving at the tentative conclusions presented here.

18.12. Nouns Consisting of Roots Alone (Simple nouns)

1. *ari* (TC, 356) "nicety"
2. *ucā* (TC, 370) "wisdom or deliberation"
3. *uyā* (TC, 369) "suffering or distress"

According to Vaiyapuri Pillai (TL), it is derived from the verbal base *uyavu-*.

4. *uru* (TC, 300) "dread"

According to Winslow (TED), it is an adjective.

5. *urum* (TC, 365) "dread"
6. *eṟuḻ* (TC, 388) "strength"
7. *ai* (TC, 385) "wonder"

According to Vaiyapuri Pillai (TL), it is an onomatopoetic word. It is interesting to note that it occurs in the pronominalised form in literature.

e.g *aitē* (NT, 143) *ai-tu (-ē)*

---

[87] For the purpose of the study here, the following works have been consulted and referred to then and there.

1. TL, Volumes I-VI and the Supplement
2. TED, Volumes, I-III – Winslow, M.
3. DED - Burrow, T and Emeneau, M. B.
4. Tamil Grammar - Lazarus John.

8. *kaṭi* (TC, 383, 384) "forbidding : sharpness : protection:newness : quickness : brilliance : largeness in quantity : superiority : fear : direct promise : doubt : pungency"

9. *kamam* (TC, 355) "fulness"

10. *karuvi* (TC, 354) "collection"

According to Vaiyapuri Pillai (TL), it may have been derived from *karu-*.

11. *kali* (TC, 349) "sound"

12. *kuru* (TC, 301) "colour"

13. *keḻu* (TC. 301) "colour"

According to Winslow (TED), it is a verbal noun.

14. *tā* (TC, 344) "strength : distress"

15. *nām* (TC, 365) "dread"

16. *paṇṇai* (TC, 319) "play"

17. *piṇai* (TC, 338) "love or desire"

It seems that *piṇai* is formed of the verbal root *piṇai*. If it is so, then it is a verbal noun (class I). Vaiyapuri Pillai (TL) also derives it from the verbal root.

18. *purai* (TC, 300) "eminence"

19. *pēm* (TC, 365) "dread"

20. *mata* (TC, 377, 378) "artlessness : strength : large quantity : beauty

21. *mātar* (TC, 328) "desire or love"

22. *mālai* (TC, 313) "nature"

23. *yāṇar* (TC, 379) "newness"

24. *yāṇu* (TC, 381) "beauty"

25.	*vampu*	(TC, 327)	"transitoriness"
26.	*vaya*	(TC, 366)	"strength"

According to Winslow (TED), *vaya* is an adjective. But it is really a noun and it stands as an attribute to other nouns in some instances.

27.	*vayā*	(TC, 371)	"great desire"
28.	*vāḷ*	(TC, 367)	"lustre"
29.	*viyal*	(TC, 364)	"breadth"
30.	*vai*	(TC, 387)	"sharpness"

It must be mentioned here that these nouns also precede other nouns and function as attributes like all other nouns. Functioning as attributes is one of the general characteristics of nouns in Dravidian languages.

18.13. Derived Nouns Consisting of Roots Plus Suffixes

18.13.1. Nouns Derived From Verbal Roots (Derivative Nouns)

1.	*ēṟṟam*	*ēṟu-am*	(TC, 337)	"thought : boldness"
2.	*oṟkam*	*olku-am*	(TC, 360)	"poverty"
3.	*cāyal*	*cāy-al*	(TC, 325)	"tenderness"
4.	*cellal*	*cel-al*	(TC, 302)	"distress"
5.	*tuyavu*	*tuya-vu*	(TC, 368)	"confusion of mind"
6.	*paiyuḷ*	*pai-uḷ*	(TC, 341)	"sickness"
7.	**mallal*	*malku-al*	(TC, 303)	"fertility"

18.13.2. Nouns Derived From Adjectival Roots

8.	*iṉṉal*	*iṉ-al*	(TC, 302)	"distress"

-al may be identified as negative suffix; but there is no data to support the form of this pattern. Vaiyapuri Pillai (TL) also records this *-al* as negative marker.

---

* malku>mal-

9. *ciṟumai ciṟu-mai* (TC, 341) "sickness"
10. *ceḻumai ceḻu-mai* (TC, 352) "fertility:stoutness"
11. *nanṟu nal-tu* (*naṉ-ṟu*) (TC, 343) "greatness"
12. *muḻutu muḻu-tu* (TC, 326) "completeness"
13. *vaṟitu vaṟi-tu* (TC, 336) "smallness"
14. **viḻumam viḻu-* (TC, 353) "regularity:trouble: magnificence"

* There is no clue for the clear-cut segmentation of this form.

15. *vemmai vem-mai* (TC, 334) "desire"

18.13.3. Nouns Derived From Simple Nouns (Nominal Stems)

16. *cīrtti cīr-tti* (TC, 313) "great fame"
17. *tevvu tev-u* (TC, 346) "enmity"
18. *paḻutu pāḻ-tu* (TC, 324) "uselessness" (*paḻa-mai*; *pāḻ*)
19, *poṟpu poṉ-pu* (TC, 335) "magnificence"
20. *naṉavu* (TC, 376) "stage : breadth" probably, *naṉa-vu*?

Vaiyapuri Pillai (TL) thinks that it may have been derived from the noun '*naṉam*'.

19.13.4. Derived From Unidentifiable Roots

21. *kampalai kampa-* (TC, 349) "sound"
22. *cummai cum-* (TC, 349) "sound"

According to Vaiyapuri Pillai (TL), these two words are of onomatopoetic origin. The roots are not clear for these forms but only the probability is set up here.

18.14. Verbal Roots

18.14.1. Verbal Roots Enumerated in the Root or Verbal Noun Class I Pattern

1. *kaḻumu* (TC, 351) "to bewilder"
2. *cāy* (TC, 330) "to decrease or to emaciate"
3. *cēr* (TC, 363) "to collect"
4. *tuvaṉṟu* (TC, 332) "to fill"
5. *tevu* (TC, 345) "to take"
   tev-u; *-u* is suffixed for euphonic purpose only
6. *nampu* (TC, 329) "to desire"
7. *nuṇaṅku* (TC, 374) "to be minute"
8. *paṭar* (TC, 340) "to think : to go"
9. *paṇai* (TC, 339) "to escape:to become stout"
10. *paravu* (TC, 382) "to extoll"
    para-(v)-u; *-u* is added for euphonisation
11. *paḻiccu* (TC, 382) "to extoll"
12. *pulampu* (TC, 331) "to be alone"
13. *pēṇ* (TC, 338) "to love or to desire"
14. *mēvu* (TC, 329) "to desire"
    mē-(v)-u; *-u* is euphonic

18.14.2. Verbal Roots Enumerated in the Verbal Noun Class II Pattern

15. *amartal* *amar-tal* (TC, 380) "to desire"
16. *alamaral* *alamar(u)-al* (TC, 310) "to reel"
    (*alam vā-*)
17. *aḻuṅkal* *aḻuṅk(u)-al* (TC, 349,350) "to sound:to pity"
18. *āytal* *āy-tal* (TC, 330) "to decrease or to emaciate"

19.	*iyampal*	*iyamp(u)-al*	(TC, 358)	"to sound"
20.	*irankal*	*irank(u)-al*	(TC, 358,359)	"to sound"
21.	*olukal*	*oluk(u)-al*	(TC, 317)	"to be straight : to be long"
22.	*ōytal*	*ōy-tal*	(TC, 330)	"to decrease or to emaciate"
23.	*keṭavaral*	*keṭavar(u)-al* (*keṭavā*)	(TC, 319)	"to play"
24.	*cilaittal*	*cilai-ttal*	(TC, 358)	"to sound"
25.	*ñemirtal*	*ñemir-tal*	(TC, 361)	"to spread"
26.	*tirttal*	*tir-t-tal*	(TC, 318)	"to separate"

This is a causative verb and the causal aspect is marked by *-t-*. According to Cēṉāvaraiyar *tirttal* is not a causative verb but according to Teyvaccilaiyār it is a causative verb. Dr. P. S. Sastri agrees with Cēṉāvaraiyar[38].

27.	*tirtal*	*tir-tal*	(TC, 318)	"to separate oneself"
28.	*tuvaittal*	*tuvai-ttal*	(TC, 358)	"to sound"
29.	*terumaral*	*terumar(u)-al*	(TC, 310)	"to reel"
30.	*nilattal*	*nila-ttal*	(TC, 330)	"to decrease or to emaciate"
31.	*pāytal*	*pāy-tal*	(TC, 361)	"to spread"
32.	*pōkal*	*pō-k(u)-al*	(TC, 317)	"to be straight : to be long"
33.	*murañcal*	*murañc(u)-al*	(TC, 333)	"to mature"
34.	*vārtal*	*vār-tal*	(TC, 317)	"to be straight : to be long"

38 Cēṉā., op. cit., TC, 318.
Tey., op. cit., TC, 315.
Sastri, P. S., *A Commentary on* TC, 318.

35. *eyyāmai* *ey-ā-mai* (TC, 342) "to have incorrect knowledge"

-*ā*- may be identified as a negative marker and -*mai* as verbal noun suffix (15.11). According to Cēṉāvaraiyar *eyyāmai* is not a negative form[89]

18.14.3. Verbal Nouns Enumerated in the Derivative Noun Pattern.

36. *atirvu* *atir-vu* (TC, 316) "to tremble"
37. *icaippu* *icai-ppu* (TC, 309) "to sound"
38. *iyaipu* *iyai-pu* (TC, 308) "to unite"
39. *ilampāṭu* *ilampaṭu*+(-*a*- → -*ā*-) (TC, 360) "to become poor"
    ilam-paṭu>*ilampāṭu*.
40. *ukappu* *uka-ppu* (TC, 305) "to heighten"
41. *uvappu* *uva-ppu* (TC, 305) "to delight"
42. *uṟappu* *uṟa-ppu* (TC, 347) "to be dense"
43. *kataḻvu* *kataḻ-vu* (TC, 315) "to be hasty"
44. *kavarvu* *kavar-vu* (TC, 362) "to desire"
45. *kavavu* *kava-vu* (TC, 357) "to wear or to embrace"
46. *kaḻivu* *kaḻi-vu* (TC, 314) "to be abundant or to be intense"
47. *kaṟuppu* *kaṟu-ppu* (TC, 372,373) "to get angry : colour"
48. *kūrppu* *kūr-ppu* (TC, 314) "to be in abundance or to be intense"
49. *civappu* *civa-ppu* (TC, 372,373) "to get angry: colour"
50 *tuṉaivu* *tuṉai-vu* (TC, 315) "to hasten"

---

[89] Cēṉā., op. cit., TC, 342.

51.	*nuḷaivu*	*nuḷai vu*	(TC, 374)	"to be minute"
52.	*nocivu*	*noci-vu*	(TC, 374)	"to be minute"
53.	*pacappu*	*paca-ppu*	(TC, 307)	"to be of sallow complexion"
54.	*payappu*	*paya-ppu*	(TC, 307)	"to profit"
55.	*muṉaivu*	*muṉai-vu*	(TC, 386)	"to be disgusted"
56.	*vitirppu*	*vitir-ppu*	(TC, 316)	"to tremble"
57.	*viṟappu*	*viṟa-ppu*	(TC, 347,348)	"to be dense : to be terrified"
58.	*veṟuppu*	*veṟu-ppu*	(TC, 347)	"to be dense"

18.15. **Qualifiers**

18.15.1. **Noun-qualifiers**

1.	*uṟu*	(TC, 299)	"much or many"
2.	*ē*	(TC, 304)	"abundant"
3.	*kaya*	(TC, 320, 322)	"great or big : tender"
4.	*kuḷa*	(TC, 311)	"infantile"
5.	*taṭa*	(TC, 320, 321)	"great or big : curved"
6.	*naḷi*	(TC, 320, 323)	"great or big : dense"
7.	*puṉiṟu*	(TC, 375)	"recently calved"
8.	*maḷa*	(TC, 311)	"infantile"

According to Tamil Lexicon, the forms *ē*, *naḷi*, *puṉiṟu* and *maḷa* are nouns. But their occurrences in the ancient literature evince the fact that they are qualifying words. Their occurrence as nouns is not available in literature either. The eight forms mentioned above precede nouns and function as noun-qualifiers.

18.15.2. **Noun-Verb Qualifiers**

9.	*tava*	(TC, 299)	"much or many"
10.	*naṉi*	(TC, 299)	"much or many"

naṉi may be segmented as *naṉ-i* (*nal-i*). These two forms precede nouns as well as verbs and thus they function as verb-qualifiers also.

18.16. **Postulates Formulated**

From the foregoing discussions, the following postulates can be derived at to define the general characteristics of 'uriccols' enumerated in Tolkāppiyam.

1. 'Uriccols" as a whole do not form a separate part of speech.

2. They are obsolete words, i.e , words which were not in current use at the time of the grammarians, who have enumerated them Even now they are found to occur only in literature.

3. Descriptively many of the 'uriccols' enumerated in Tolkāppiyam are verbal roots; a good number of them are nouns formed of nominal roots; some others are derived nouns, formed from verbal, adjectival or nominal roots and a few others are qualifiers.

The verbal roots are enumerated not only in the root pattern but also in the verbal noun and the derivative noun patterns. In usage these verbal roots form the base of non-finite verbs and sometimes of finite verbs too

4. There are about ten words which cannot be classified under nouns, verbs or particles. In the present study they are identified as qualifiers or modifiers. The expression 'kuṟaiccoṟ-kiḷavi'- "defective words" used by Tolkāppiyaṉār, to refer to

'uriccols' suggests that they were not considered to be complete words. Here it may be assumed that the above expression might have been used to refer to the roots and the qualifiers, which are neither declined nor conjugated.

5. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not state anywhere that 'uriccols' do not occur in isolation and that they are bound forms whereas he says so in the case of 'iṭaiccol' (17.2). Thus it may be assumed that they are free forms.

6. Though most of the 'uriccols' enumerated in Tolkāppiyam are in the root form, they are not exclusively roots. For example, *iṉṉal, viḻumam, cellal, naṉavu, naṉṟu, cemmai, muḻutu, paḻutu, vaṟitu,* etc., are not formed of mere roots. Hence evidences do not support the assumption that Uriyiyal is a chapter on root morphemes.

7. Historically most of the forms listed in Uriyiyal can be traced back to the nominal or verbal origin.

19 Compounds

19.1. Views of Tolkāppiyanār on Compounds

Tolkāppiyanār does not explicitly define what a compound is. But the term 'tokai' chosen by him to denote compound helps us to infer its definition[1]. The term 'tokai' is derived from the root tok(u) which means "to join together" or "to elide". Tolkāppiyanār clearly states in a sūtra that all compounds are of the same nature as single words,[2] i.e., they are unitary in nature. Thus it is obvious that while defining compounds, Tolkāppiyanār attaches much importance to the meaning "to join to-gether" (to form one unit) for the term 'tokai'. Besides, he does not explicitly define compounds by the criterion of elision of affixes or particles and it is interesting to note that there are no affixes or particles elided in some of the compounds like *karuṅkutirai, cārai-p-pāmpu,* etc.

The meaning elision which can be applied only to a certain types of compounds, may be taken as a secondary criterion to define compounds.

19.2. Views of the Commentators on Compounds

Cēnāvaraiyar mentions that there are two schools of thoughts with regard to the interpretation of the term 'tokai'.

---

[1] TC, 412-421.

[2] TC, 421.

One adopts the meaning "elision" and thinks that the compound is that where the case marker, particle of comparison, ending of verbs, particle *-um* or termination of qualitative nouns is dropped; the other adopts the meaning "joining to-gether" and thinks that the compound is that in which two or more words are joined to-gether without any interruption[3].

Iḷampūraṇar and Naccinārkkiniyar advocate the former school of thought[4] but Cēṉāvaraiyar the latter and also condemns the view of Iḷampūraṇar for the following two reasons[5]. 1. According to the interpretation of Iḷampūraṇar even the expressions like *ceytāṉ poruḷ* and *iruntāṉ māṭattu* would also become compounds, since the case markers *-ai* and *-kaṇ* are respectively dropped after the words *poruḷ* and *māṭattu*. 2. Secondly, the expressions like *kēḻarpaṉṟi* and *vēḻakkarumpu* must also be included under the compounds, but they cannot be included according to the former interpretation. Teyvaccilaiyār also fully agrees with the interpretation of Cēṉāvaraiyar[6].

Dr. P. S. Sastri states that though there is generally some elision in the first member of a compound, it should not be taken as the definition of 'tokai'[7].

19.3. Views of Modern Linguists on Compounds

Bloomfield says that compound words have two (or more) free forms among their immediate constituents[8]. Earlier, by

---

3 Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 412.

4 Iḷa., *A Commentary on* TC, 407-412.
Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 412.

5 Cēṉā., op. cit., TC, 412.

6 Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 100, 406, 407.

7 Sastri, P. S., *A Commentary on* TC, 412.

8 Bloomfield, L., *Language,* p. 226.

way of defining the free forms, he says that in his description he usually treats the stem as if it were a free form[9]. Bloch and Trager define a compound as a word composed entirely of smaller words[10]. Hockett states that in the stem compounds, both the immediate constituents are themselves stems[11].

19 4. **Definition Evolved**

In the light of the foregoing discussions and definitions the following criteria may be set up to define the compounds depicted by Tolkāppiyaṉār.

1. In a compound two or more words are joined together to form immediate constituents among them.

2. The members of a compound, as a whole, function as a single word.

3. Certain suffixes or particles may be elided in some types of compounds.

19.5. **Members of a Compound**

Where there are two members, the first one is known as the prepound and the second one as the postpound. In Tamil the prepound always remains an uninflected word, i.e, a compound is capable of being inflected only after the postpound and not after the prepound.

When two free forms are juxtaposed to form a compound, some modification may occur in the prepound or in the termination of the prepound.

---

[9] Ibid., p. 225.

[10] Bloch, Bernard and Trager, *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*, p. 66.

[11] Hockett, C. F., *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 240.

e.g. *kāṭu-yāṉai* *kāṭṭiyāṉai*

muṟam-cevi *muṟañcevi*, etc.

19.6. Classification of Compounds

Tolkāppiyaṉār divides the compounds, in Tamil language, into six kinds[12]. They are 'vēṟṟumaittokai' (the declensional compound), 'uvamattokai' (the compound of comparison), 'viṉaittokai' (the verb compound), 'paṇputtokai' (the qualitative compound), 'ummaittokai' (the conjunctival or conjunctional compound), and 'aṉmolittokai' (the metonymical compound).

These compounds may be looked into from the point of view of the classification of constructions made by the modern linguists. The modern linguists classify the constructions into two main classes. They are endocentric constructions and exocentric constructions. They sub-divide the endocentric constructions into sub-ordinate or attributive constructions and co-ordinate constructions[13].

Except the metonymical compound, all the other five kinds of compounds are evidently endocentric constructions. Out of them, the conjunctival compound alone represents the co-ordinate construction and the remaining four the attributive construction. There is no real exocentric construction in the compounds enumerated by Tolkāppiyaṉār. 'Aṉmolittokai' which is formed of other compounds is only a metonymical compound (19.12). From the structural point of view, it is preferable to class the aṉmolittokai also under the endocentric constructions (See note 31).

---

[12] TC, 412.

[13] Nida, Eugene, *Morphology*, p. 94.
Hockett, C. F., op. cit., 183-190.

19.7. Declensional Compound

'Vēṟṟumaittokai' or the declensional compound is that in which the prepound stands in case relation to the postpound[14]. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran further elucidates by stating that in the declensional compounds the first member may be taken to occur in the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth or seventh cases, roughly corresponding to the accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative of motion, genitive and locative respectively and that the nominative and the vocative cannot form compounds[15].

e.g. *kuḷaikkātu, poṟkuṭam, karuppuvēli*
malaiyaruvi, kāyāmalar kuṉṟakkūkai, etc.

Iḷampūraṇar and Naccinārkkiṉiyar think that the declensional compound is that wherein the case marker is elided. Cēṉāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār do not agree with this definition. It is worthy of notice that Cēṉāvaraiyar considers the phrase like *nilam kaṭantāṉ* "He crossed the ground", where *nilam* is an object and *kaṭantāṉ* is a finite verb, as an example of 'vēṟṟumaittokai'. The problem, whether the expressions like *nilam kaṭantāṉ, mākkoṇarntāṉ*, etc., are compounds or not, will be discussed later (19.14).

The internal structure of these compounds is noun+noun. Usually the postpound is the head and the prepound is attribute to the head,[16] i.e., attribute→ head.

---

14 TC, 413.

15 Meenakshisundaran, T. P., *A History of the Tamil Language*, p. 96.

16 Hockett, C.F., op. cit., p. 184.
The constituent, whose privileges of occurrence ar matched by those of the constitute, is the head or centre. the other constituent is the attribute.

In a few instances, when the compunds are in the sixth case relationship, the prepound may become the head and the postpound its attribute.

e.g. *nuṉinā* (may be expanded as *nāviṉatu nuṉi*)
vāyil („ *illiṉatu vāy*)

Usually in the declensional compounds, the prepounds drop the case markers when compounded with the postpounds.

19.8. Compound of Comparison

'Uvamattokai' or the compound of comparison is that in which the prepound is compared to the postpound.[17] The prepound is 'upamāṉam' (i.e., one which occurs as a comparison) and the postpound is 'upamēyam' (i.e., to which one is compared).

e.g. *muṟañcevi, poṉmēṉi, tuṭiyiṭai,* etc.

These compounds can be expanded in two ways. For example, *murañcevi* - "winnow-like ear" can be expanded into *muratt-ai otta cevi* or *muṟam aṉṉa cevi.* The former way of expansion reveals the fact that the prepound is in second case relation to the postpound. Cēṉāvaraiyar says that if one is inclined to expand it in the former way it may be taken as 'vēṟṟumaittokai'.[18] Dr. P.S. Sastri does not agree with Cēṉāvaraiyar but he thinks that even though in the former instance the former member is in case-relation to the following member, it is not so in the second one and hence uvamattokai cannot be classed as a species of vēṟṟumaittokai.[19] Prof.

---

[17] TC, 414.

[18] Cēṉā., op. cit., TC, 414.

[19] Sastri, P.S., op. cit., TC, 414.

T.P. Meenakshisundaran thinks that uvamattokai is accusative compound and thus vēṟṟumaittokai, mentioned separately because of its importance in literature.[20] Cēṉāvaraiyar and Prof. T.P. Meenakshisundaran are correct in their observations, since Tolkāppiyaṉār also includes comparison as one of the shades of meaning denoted by the accusative case (6.7).

In 'uvamattokai' the prepound as well as the postpound is a noun, i.e., noun + noun. The postpound is the head and the prepound is attribute to the head, i.e., attribute→head.

The particle of comparison is elided between the two members of this compound (17.13).

19.9. Verb Compound

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, 'viṉaittokai' or the verb compound is in the nature of denoting tense.[21]

e.g. *kolyāṉai, ceykuṉṟu, aṭukaḷiṟu,* etc.

Cēṉāvaraiyar opines that the prepound may be taken as a verbal noun (toḻiṟpeyar, 5.2) and refutes the view of Iḷampūraṇar that the compounds like *kolkaḷiṟu* are made up of verbs and nouns.[22] Cēṉāvaraiyar agrees that there are compounds like *kolkaḷiṟu,* but he differs from Iḷampūraṇar as regards the prepound kol. Iḷampūraṇar considers it as a curtailed form of participle. According to Dr. P.S. Sastri, the prepound is a participle denoting tense.[23]

---

20 Meenakshisundaran, T.P., op. cit., p. 96.

21 TC, 415.

22 Cēṉā., op. cit , TC, 415.
Iḷa., op. cit., TC, 68, 409.

23 Sastri., op. cit., TC, 67, 415.

Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran says "even verbal roots occur as attributes of nouns as in kolyāṉai. This is called viṉaittokai ; the first member of the compound is a verbal root as against the nominal roots elsewhese".[24]

Thus it may be concluded that in 'viṉaittokai' the prepound is a verbal root and the postpound is a noun, i.e., verbal root + noun. The postpound is the head and the prepound, its attribute, i.e., attribute→head.

The prepound verbal root can be expanded to denote the different tenses.

kolyāṉai *koṉṟa yāṉai* - past

kollum yāṉai - non-past

The verb compound is also capable of occurring as subject and of being declined as other single nouns.

19.10. Qualitative Compound

'Paṇputtokai' or the qualitative compound is that in which the prepound is a stem denoting colour, shape, extent, taste, etc., and the postpound is qualified by the prepound in such a way as to indicate its nature.[25]

karuṅkutirai (colour)

vattakkal (shape)

kuṟuṅkōl (extent)

tiṅkarumpu (taste)

The numeral compounds where prepounds denote the extent of number, also come under 'paṇputtokai' (4.19.1).

e.g. *orupatu,* *aṟucīr*, etc.

---

24 Meenakshisundaran, T.P., op. cit., p. 97.

25 TC, 416.

The commentators think that the expressions like *cāraip-pāmpu*, *vēḷakkarumpu*, etc., in which *cārai*, *vēḷam*, etc., are not denoting qualities, but indicating the particular species. should also be taken as 'paṇputtokai'.

In the qualitative compound, the prepound is a noun or adjectival stem and the post-pound is a noun, i.e., noun + noun or adjectival stem + noun. The post pound is head and the prepound is its attribute, i.e., attribute→head.

The termination of the prepound is dropped when compounded with the postpound in 'paṇputtokai'.

19.11. Conjunctival Compound

'Ummaittokai' or the conjunctival compound is that in which two nouns, many nouns, nouns of measurement, nouns denoting countable objects, nouns of weights or numerals (4.19.2) are combined to-gether. It is evident from Tolkāppiyam that only the conjunctival compounds may be formed of more than two words.[26]

e.g. *kapilaparaṇar*
āṭalpāṭal
pulivirkeṇṭai (three free forms)
(*puli-vil-keṇṭai*)

In the conjunctival compounds, all the members are nouns, i.e., noun+noun or noun+noun+noun, and structurally they are of equal rank. The conjunctional particle *-um* is elided in between the members of this compound.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the conjunctival compounds having rational nouns as component parts, are of the nature of

[26] TC, 417.

rational plural nouns.[27] It means that they take the rational plural endings, e.g. *kapilaparaṉar*, *cēracōḻapāṇṭiyar*, etc. (2.9.3).

Teyvaccilaiyār takes a different reading of the word '*palar*' in the sūtra dealing with the above aspect as '*pala*' and hence interprets that the conjunctival compounds of rational nouns are of the nature of many words.[28] This interpretation does not help them to be considered as compounds and so it is not suitable in the context.

19.12. Metonymical Compound

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, 'aṉmoḻittokai' or the metonymical compound is formed of the qualitative, conjunctival or declensional compound.[29] The members of 'aṉmoḻittokai' may stand to each other to any of the three relations, viz., qualifier-noun relation, conjunctive relation or case relation.

e.g. 1. *veḷḷāṭai* (*vantāḷ*) "white dress"
"She who wears white dress came"

2. *takaraññāḻal* (*pūciṉāḷ*)
(*takaramum ñāḻalum cērnta cāntu puciṉāḷ*)

3. *poṟṟoṭi* (*vantāḷ*) "golden bangles"
"She who has golden bangles came"

In these compounds something is understood after the postpound, which can be understood only from the contexts.

The commentators think that there are metonymical compounds formed of the other two compounds also

---

27 TC, 421.

28 Tey., op. cit., TC, 415.

29 TC, 418.

(uvamattokai and viṉaittokai). Teyvaccilaiyār considers the metonymical compounds which may be formed of the verb *compound and of the compound of comparison as a type of* transferred nouns (ākupeyar).[30]

The internal structures of the metonymical compounds are the same as already described under the concerned types of compounds.

From the semantic point of view aṉmoḻittokai is only a metonymic figure of speech to be discussed under semantics.[31]

19.13. Significance of Meaning in Compounds

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that in the above six kinds of compounds the emphasis or significance of meaning lies in four *different* ways, i.e., on the prepound, on the postpound, on both the prepound and postpound and neither on the prepound nor on the postpound but on something else.[32] It is here

---

[30] Tey., op. cit., TC, 412.

[31] Nida, Eugene, *Morphology*, p. 94.
Aṉmoḻittokai is treated as an endocentric construction from the structural point of view According to the description of Nida, it appears to be exocentric. For example, *poṟṟoṭi* (*poṉ - toṭi*) is a noun, and the nuclear, constituent, i.e., *toṭi* is also a noun. But this nuclear constituent belongs to a class for which the pronominal substitute is 'it' whereas the construction *poṟṟoṭi* has the pronominal substitute 'she'

poṟṟoṭi vantāḷ "The woman who has golden bangles came"

Toṭi is to this extent not a member of the same distribution class and hence aṉmoḻittokai may, according to Nida, be treated as an exocentric construction.
Hockett prefers to class the construction like 'aṉmoḻittokai' under endocentric, on the formal grounds. (op. cit., p. 185).

[32] TC, 419.

evident that the classification of compounds according to their significant or head words was well recognized by Tolkāppiyaṉār.

In Tamil, the declensional compounds, the compounds of comparison, the verb compounds and the qualitative compounds have significance or emphasis of meaning usually on the post-pounds. There is an exception of a few instances in the declensional compounds with sixth case relation, e g. *nuṉinā*, *muṉṟil*, etc. In these compounds the significance of meaning lies on the prepound. In the conjunctival compounds the significance of meaning lies on all the members and in 'aṉmoḻittokai' it lies on none of the members but on something else.

Those compounds that have significance of meaning either on the prepound or on the postpound represent attribute constructions; those which have significance of meaning on all the members represent co-ordinate construction and those which have significance of meaning on none of the members are considered a class of metonymic figure of speech.

19.14. Nominal Compounds

It is of interest to note that all the six kinds of compounds enumerated by Tolkāppiyaṉār are nominal compounds in the sense that their heads are nouns and they are of the same distribution as (single) nouns. They also occur as subjects and are capable of taking case markers.

e.g. *yaṉāikkōṭu vantatu*
tuṭiyiṭai acaintatu
kolyāṉai vantatu
centāmarai malarntatu
āṭal-pāṭal naṭantatu
poṟṟāli vantāḷ

Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the compounds in a sūtra[83] in *Vēṟṟumai-mayaṅkiyal* and says that they can also stand in the nominative case and take predicates. There in the sūtra he makes use of the phrase 'peyariṉākiya tokaiyum' and thus identifies the compounds by the expression 'peyariṉ ākiya tokai'. Almost all the commentators interpret it as compounds made up of nouns. But Dr. P.S. Sastri takes it to mean compounds having nouns as their final member.[84]

The particle '*-um*' in the phrase 'peyariṉ ākiya tokai-y-um' is differently interpreted by different scholiasts. According to Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, it suggests that there are compounds made of verbs and nouns, such as *kolkaḷiṟu*, *ceykuṉṟu*, etc[85]. According to Cēṉāvaraiyar, it suggests that there are compounds formed of nouns and verbs, such as *nilam kaṭantāṉ*, *mā-kkoṇarntāṉ*, etc[86]. Dr. P.S. Sastri rightly thinks that the particle '-um' connects 'peyariṉākiya tokai' with 'peyar'[87] which is referred to in the preceding sūtras[88] (that deal with the nouns standing in the nominative case and taking predicates).

It is evident that in the preceding sūtras Tolkāppiyaṉār deals with the external distribution of nouns. So, one can rightly infer that while he adds 'peyariṉ ākiya tokai' with nouns, he refers to their external distribution only and not

---

83 TC, 67.

84 Sastri, P.S., op. cit., TC, 67.

85 Iḷa., op. cit., TC, 68.
Nac., op. cit., TC, 68.

86 Cēṉā., op. cit., TC, 67.

87 Sastri, P.S., op. cit., TC, 67.

88 TC, 65, 66.

their internal structure, as all the commentators, wrongly interpret. Thus in the sūtra Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the compounds, which are of the same external distribution as hat of nouns, take predicates occurring as subjects. Here 'peyariṉākiya tokai' literally means compunds like nouns[39] and the particle '*-um*' suggests not only nouns but also compounds. Thus '*-um*' connects compounds with nouns.

According to Cēṉāvaraiyar, there are compounds made up of nouns and verbs.[40] Naccinārkkiṉiyar also thinks that there

---

[39] cf., Cēṉā., op. cit., TC, 77.

In the phrase 'peyar-iṉ ākiya tokai' *-iṉ-* may be taken as fifth case marker denoting comparison (6.10).

[40] Cēṉā., op. cit., TC, 420.

"Cēṉāvaraiyar is very obstinate in considering it (nilam kaṭantāṉ) a compound. The reason he adduces in support of his opinion is that in TE, 133 Tolkāppiyaṉār has stated that a noun, which has its case suffix dropped, is combined with the following verb so as to form a compound".

Iḷampūraṇar gives a different interpretation to the same. When a noun with, or without, a case marker is followed by a verb, it is treated as a separate word When a noun with, or without, a case marker is followed by a verbal noun (class III), it is treated as a part of a compound of which the verbal noun forms the second part (postpound).

(Ref. Sastri, P. S., HGT., pp. 214, 215)

According to the interpretation of Iḷampūraṇar, *nilam kaṭantāṉ* is a compound, when *kaṭantāṉ* is a participial noun (cf. A Commentry on TE, 133 by Iḷampūraṇar).

are compounds formed of nouns and verbs occurring as predi cates, though he does not take that it is suggested by the particle -'*um*'.

e.g. *nilam kaṭantāṉ* "(He) crossed the ground"

Cēṉāvaraiyar cites such examples for 'vēṟṟumaittokai'. In *nilam kaṭantāṉ*, *kaṭantāṉ* is a finite verb and nilam is its object. This is only a phrase consisting of two words. In phrases also the case marker can be elided. The following arguments will reveal the fact that the expressions like *nilaṅ kaṭantāṉ*, are not compounds, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār.

1. Tolkāppiyaṉār nowhere explicitly states that a noun and a verb can form a compound.

2. The particle '-*um*' in 'peyariṉ ākiya tokaiyum' suggests that not only nouns mentioned in sūtra, 65 and 66 (TC) but also compounds like nouns, can occur as subjects taking predicates. Thus it is evident that Cēṉāvaraiyar wrongly interprets '-*um*' to suggest compounds made up of nouns and verbs.

3. In Tamil, the compounds are either attributive or co-ordinate constructions. *nilaṅ kaṭantāṉ*, *māk koṇarntāṉ* etc., belong to objective construction, which is a type of directive constructions[41]. No compound enumerated in Tolkāppiyam occurs as a directive construction.

4. If the second member *nilam kaṭantāṉ* is a verb, the expression as a whole cannot stand in the nominative case. Thus Cēṉāvaraiyar's interpretation to include the phrases

---

[41] Hockett, C. F., op. cit , pp. 191-196.

According to the descriptions of Hockett, the expressions like '*nilam kaṭantāṉ*' may be treated as a directive construction and thus, it can be taken only as a phrase.

formed of nouns and verbs under compounds defeats the sole purpose of the sūtra to describe the external distribution of the compounds.

Thus it may be concluded that all the compounds enumerated in Tolkāppiyam are nominal compounds from the point of view of their external distribution.

20 Repetitive Expressions

20.0. Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses three kinds of repetitive expressions in his work, namely 'iraṭṭaikkiḷavi', 'aṭukkuttoṭar' and 'oruporuṭpaṉmoḻi'. In 'iraṭṭaikkiḷavi' the root is reduplicated in 'aṭukku-t-toṭar', the word is repeated and in 'oruporuṭpaṉmoḻi', the synonyms are employed in pairs. These may be identified as iterative words, repeated words and reduplicative expressions.

20.1. Iterative Words

'Iraṭṭaikkiḷavi' or the iterative words (reduplicative words) are expressed by the device of doubling the roots. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that there are certain reduplicated words whose roots are always doubled[1]. The roots of those reduplicated words do not bring out the desired sense, when they occur in isolation, i.e., the roots in them do not form themselves into words, unless they are reduplicated.

e.g. *cala-cala*

kala-kala

All the commentators except Teyvaccilaiyār cite the iterative verbs as examples for 'iraṭṭai-k-kiḷavi'. According to them,

---

[1] TC, 48.

the iterative verbs are used to express noise, suggestion or quality[2].

e.g. *Caruku curu-curu-tt-a-tu* (noise)
"Dried leaves produced a hissing sound"

Pakaivar koṟu-koṟu-tt-ā-r (suggestion)
"Enemies bubbled with anger"

Āṭi paḷapaḷattatu (quality) "The mirror shone"

Teyvaccilaiyār cites the iterative numerals like *oṉṟoṉṟāka, iraṇṭiraṇṭāka*, etc., as examples for '*iraṭṭaikkiḷavi*'[3] It seems that Teyvaccilaiyār is not correct in his interpretation since single words like *oṉṟu, iraṇṭu*, etc., can occur in isolation too.

20.2. Repetitive Words

In 'aṭukku-t-toṭar', the words are repeated two to four times. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the repetition of words is of three kinds :- 'icainiṟai' - that used for euphony, 'acainilai'-that used to make up the syllables and '*poruḷoṭu puṉartal*' -that used with some significance[4].

20.2.1. 'Icainiṟai'

Tolkāppiyaṉār prescribes the maximum limit for the repetition of words for euphonic harmony to four times[5].

---

[2] Iḷa , *A Commentary on* TC, 48.
Cēṉā., *A Commentary on* TC, 48.
Nac., *A Commentary on* TC, 48.
Kal., *A Commentary on* TC, 48.

[3] Tey., *A Commentary on* TC, 46.

[4] TC, 411.

[5] TC, 423.

e.g. *okkumē okkumē okkumē okkum*

20.2.2. 'Acainilai'

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not prescribe any limit for 'acainilai'. But since he prescribes the limit for the other two kinds of repetitive words, all the commentators boldly assert that the upper limit of repeating words for acainilai is twice[6].

e.g. *aṉṟē aṉṟē*

aḵtē aḵtē

20.2.3. Poruḷoṭu Puṉartal

Tolkāppiyaṉār prescribes the maximum limit for the repetition of a word for expressing hastiness to thrice[7].

e g. *tī-t-tī-t-tī* "fire fire fire"

pāmpu pāmpu pāmpu

Usually the repetition of words in Tamil is a device for indicating emphasis on a thing. According to the commentators the repetitive words used with some significance, may be of different kinds : one denoting quickness, one denoting certainty, one denoting determination, etc.

20.3 Reduplicative Expressions

Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the use of synonyms in pairs is not objected to in Tamil[8]. The use of redundant expressions made up of two synonyms is identified as reduplicative expressions by Pei and Gaynor in their dictionary[9].

---

[6] TC, 424. (Commentaries).

[7] TC, 424.

[8] TC, 460.

[9] Pei and Gaynor, *A Dictionary of Linguistics*, p. 183.

e.g. *nivantu-ōṅku perumalai* "High-high big mountain"
(very high big mountain)

eṟuḻ-muṉpu (PN, 7) "strength· strength"
(great strength)

In example one *nivantu* and *ōṅku* both mean "high" and in example two *eṟuḻ* and *muṉpu* both mean strength. It is a practice among Tamils to use compounds of words having the same meaning to denote large quantity.

Conclusion

Attention is solicited to the following important and noteworthy treatments and descriptions found in the treatise of Tolkāppiyaṉār. As they are quite revealing and interesting to the scholars who approach Tolkāppiyam from the modern linguistic point of view, they are collected and set up here. A number of them are traced and arrived at through independent study and investigation. It is believed that they will further testify to the fact that Tolkāppiyam is the best descriptive grammatical work extant in Tamil.

1. The three central sub-systems and the two peripheral sub-systems of the language are treated in Tolkāppiyam[1]. The first three chapters of Eḻuttatikāram are concerned with the phonological system, while the later chapters are concerned with the morphophonemic system and Collatikāram deals mainly with the grammatical system. Chapter III of Eḻuttatikāram (Piṟappiyal) is concerned with the phonetic system also and a number of sūtras in Collatikāram deal with the semantic system of the Tamil language.

---

1 Hockett, C F., classifies the system of language into five principal sub-systems, of which three are central and two are peripheral. The three central systems are 1. the grammatical system, 2. the phonological system and 3. the morphophonemic system. The two peripheral systems are 1. the semantic system and 2. the phonetic system.

Hockett, C. F., *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 137f.

2. The literary as well as the spoken language is described in Tolkāppiyam[a]. Whenever some usage is peculiar to either of them, it is specifically indicated.

3. The definition of nouns and verbs cited in Tolkāppiyam is quite appealing to the modern linguists. They are defined purely from the structural point of view (2.1; 8.1). Their functional characteristics at the syntactical level is also described.

4. The free and inflected forms are divided into nouns and verbs and are respectively treated in Peyariyal and Viṉai-yiyal. The bound morphemes (i.e., affixes or dependent morphemes) and particles or uninflected words are sub-divided into seven sub-categories and are enumerated in Iṭaiyiyal.

5. The bound morphemes (the inflectional categories) that characterize a particular part of speech are treated in connection with the relevent part of speech. For instance, the case markers and 'cāriyais' are enumerated so as to indicate their relationship with nouns and tense is discussed in Viṉaiyiyal in order to indicate its relationship with verbs.

Other uninflected words, i.e., particles that are not characterized by any inflexional categories are treated separately in iṭaiyiyal[8].

---

[a] For relevant sūtras, refer to numbers under the terminologies "poetry" and "usage" in the index.

[8] Andronov, M , rightly treats the particles as a word-class in Dravidian languages

(Cf. "Dravidian Languages", Ar. Or, 31 (1963), p. 192, 193).

Kuiper, F.B.J., A Private Communication.

Zvelebil, K., See Note 22 on Chapter XVII.

6. Many kinds of words are conveniently classified under several patterns in Tolkāppiyam, e.g., '*ceyta*' and *ceyyum*' are the patterns of adjectival participles; 'ceyyum' is also a pattern of a type of finite verbs; *ceyyāy* and *cey* are the patterns of different forms; nine adverbial participle patterns are also enumerated in a sūtra.

Description of words by employing this pattern method has been found useful and adopted by the later-day grammarians also.

7. The historical development of the language is well recognized in Tolkāppiyam[4].

8. The term 'peyar' is employed to denote nouns proper, pronouns, numerals, verbal nouns, etc., so that all the sub-classes of nouns are classified as belonging to one word-class. At the same time, the different sub-classes of nouns are distinguished by preposing special terminology to the general term 'peyar'.

e.g. *iyaṟpeyar*, *ciṉaippeyar*, *cuṭṭuppeyar*, *viṉāppeyar*, *eṇṇuppeyar*, *viṉaippeyar*, etc.

9. The different sub-classes of nouns themselves or the terms denoting sub-classes of nouns are enumerated in Peyariyal and thus their forming one word-class is further confirmed

10. The verbs functioning as nouns are treated along with the nouns and thus nouns formed of, or from verbs are considered as a sub-class of nouns.

11. The sub-classes of pronouns are identified with different terminologies so as to distinguish them as separate sub-groups, e.g. *taṉmaippeyar*, *muṉṉilaippeyar*, *paṭarkkaippeyar*, *cuṭṭuppeyar*, *viṉāppeyar*, etc.

---

[4] TC, 452.

12. The nominative and the oblique forms of pronouns are enumerated; and the formation of oblique forms (bound forms) from the nominative forms (free forms) is also discussed elaborately.

13. The enumeration and description of numerals is almost exhaustively made, while dealing with the sandhi changes.

14 The existence of gender-number markers not only in verbs but also in nouns is recognized by Tolkāppiyaṉār. They are not so much analysed in nouns as they are done in verbs. It must be pointed out that the number-gender markers enumerated in Kiḷaviyākkam are those of the nouns and the verbs.

15. The various significances of the case markers are given with the help of the patterns of phrases in which the declined nouns occur. The post-positions which function as the seventh case markers are listed in Tolkāppiyam.

16. The nouns which do not take the vocative case are accounted.

17. The changes that occur in the nouns while they take the vocative form are elaborately discussed.

18. Specific shapes are posited to 'cāriyais' or the flexional increments and the changes required to fit in with the environments of their occurrence are also described.

19. The distinction between the finite verbs and the non-finite verbs is explicitly pointed out. The characteristics of finite verbs taking pronominal termination and of non-finite verbs requiring complements are well recognized in Tolkāppiyam.

20. The verbs are classified according to different genders, numbers, persons, etc., and their different pronominal terminations are listed.

21. The usage of 'ceyyum' pattern finite verbs is well described.

22. The common verbs (belonging to both the classes) are listed and the restriction of their occurrence, if any, is shown.

23. A few qualifiers (i.e., indeclinable adjuncts) are included in Uriyiyal so as to identify them as a separate class of words which is different from nouns, verbs and particles.

24. The particles and the different shades of meaning which they denote are discussed in detail in Iṭaiyiyal.

25. The definition, classification and description of compounds are exquisitely done The nominal compounds are identified to be of the same distribution as that of single nouns.

26. The inclusion of the particles of comparison under 'iṭaiccol', their exhaustive enumeration and classification in Uvamaiyiyal testify to the descriptive and analytical acumen of the author.

27. To a small extent, the criterion of meaning is also taken into consideration in a few instances.

e.g. For defining words, 'iṭaiccol' and 'uriccol' and for the classification of words, the aspect of meaning is taken note of.

28. The device of proceeding from general to particular or from whole to part is mostly employed in Tolkāppiyam.

e.g. After the enumeration of all the 'cāriyais' in Puṇariyal, the environmens in which they occur and the modifications which they undergo in their form are described in the succeeding chapters. With regard to cases, word-classes, 'iṭaiccol', etc., also the same procedure is followed, i.e., at first they are enumerated and then each one of them is discussed in detail.

29. Throughout Collatikāram the different forms and their functions are intermixedly treated.

Appendix I

Classification and Contents of Chapters in Tolkāppiyam*

Tolkāppiyam is divided into three major parts, each of which is, in turn, into nine chapters. The three major parts are Eḻuttatikāram, Collatikāram and Poruḷatikāram.

Eḻuttatikāram (483)

1. *Nūṉmarapu* (33). This chapter deals with the enumeration and classification of significant speech sounds (phonemes), the symbols for certain phonemes and a few consonantal clusters. The demonstrative and interrogative clitics are also enumerated here.

2. *Moḻimarapu* (49). It is about a few allophones, the distribution of phonemes, the duration (quantity) of a few speech sounds and the phonemic free variation.

3. *Piṟappiyal* (22). This chapter contains information on the production of significant speech sounds and of a few allophones of some phonemes in Tamil language.

4. *Puṇariyal* (40). The interest of this chapter is the general principles and the classification of sandhi. The case markers, the 'cāriyais' and their modification in form according to different environments and the relation of case markers and 'cāriyais' with nouns are also accounted here.

---

* The total number of sūtras of each part or chapter is given in brackets against the names of parts and chapters.

5. *Tokaimarapu* (30). It gives us the collection of traditional rules on sandhi and the rules governing the general principles of sandhi as well.

The formation of oblique forms of pronouns and the interrogative pronouns are also discussed here.

6. *Urupiyal* (30). The sandhi that occurs between noun-stems and case markers is the subject-matter of this chapter. The 'cāriyais' that intervene between the nouns and the case markers are also dealt with here.

7. *Uyirmayaṅkiyal* (93). It is an interesting section on sandhi occurring between the vowel-ending words and other words. While enumerating the sandhi rules, a number of word forms are also referred to.

8. *Puḷḷimayaṅkiyal* (110). This chapter deals with the sandhi occurring between the consonant-ending words and other words. A few forms of verbal nouns, pronouns, and adverbial participles are also sporadically mentioned.

9. *Kuṟṟiyalukara-p-puṇariyal* (78). It is a chapter on sandhi occurring between the words with final shortened -u and other words. The numerals are also elaborately discussed in this chapter.

Collatikāram (463)

1. *Kiḷaviyākkam* (61) Syntax is the major content of this chapter. A few morphological structures are also sporadically described.

2. *Vēṟṟumaiyiyal* (22) It is about cases. The subject predicate relationship, the definition of nouns, and the nominal compounds are also discussed here.

3. *Veṟṟumai mayaṅkiyal* (34) This chapter is concerned with the functional syncretism of cases and case markers. Metonymy and different aspects that are governed by the verbs are also enumerated here.

4. *Viḷimarapu* (37) The vocative case is dealt with in this chapter.

5. *Peyariyal* (43) The nouns are discussed in this chapter. The classification of nouns into different classes (tiṇai), genders and numbers is made here.

6. *Viṉaiyiyal* (51) It is about verbs. Three tenses, various pronominal terminations, different types of verbs (optatives, negatives, etc.), non-finite verbs and the functional syncretism of tenses are treated in this chapter.

7. *Iṭaiyiyal* (48) It gives an account of the bound forms, i.e. particles (uninflected words) and affixes (bound morphemes). Some of the particles enumerated here were originally independent words which have been reduced to the position of particles and cannot, therefore, now occur as independent words.

8. *Uriyiyal* (100) This is an interesting section on 120 obsolete words. Many of them are root words, i.e., words formed of roots and words which cannot be segmented into parts. A few words can be segmented into roots + affixes. A few qualifiers are also included in this chapter.

9. *Eccaviyal* (67) It is a chapter on miscellanea. It includes all those that are not dealt with in the previous chapters.

Poruḷatikāram (666)

1. *Akattiṇaiyiyal* (55) It is about the conduct of love affairs, i.e., about the love-themes or noumenal experience.

2. *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* (36) It deals with the non-love themes, i.e., phenomenal experience.

3. *Kaḷaviyal* (50) It treats of the interesting theme of premarital love or secret love.

4. *Kaṟpiyal* (53) This chapter is on marital love or wedded love.

5. *Poruḷiyal* (27) This section touches on various aspects of erotic love.

6. *Meyppāṭṭiyal* (27) It is an interesting section on sentiments and their physical manifestations.

7. *Uvamaiyiyal* (37) This chapter deals with a figure of speech called 'uvamai' - "simile or comparison". The particles of comparison are also enumerated in this chapter.

8. *Ceyyuḷiyal* (244) It deals with prosody and poetics.

9. *Marapiyal* (110) It gives an account of traditional usages of words.

Appendix II

Commentators and Their Commentaries on Tolkappiyam

Iḷampūraṇar

Iḷampūraṇar, the earliest commentator on Tolkāppiyam has commented upon the whole work and he is well-known as 'uraiyāciriyar' - "the commentator" among the later commentators.

His commentary is lucid and short and its style is simple. His commentary testifies to the fact that he had studied under the traditional scholars of Tamil and there were many commentaries before him which are now lost. His commentary on some sūtras are criticized by Cēṉāvaraiyar in restrained tone and in some places the latter's condemnation of the views of the former is far from satisfactory, e.g., commentary on TC, 67, 420, etc.

Iḷampūraṇar is said to belong to the 12th century A.D. He quotes from Yāpparuṅkalam which is usually considered to belong to the 10th century A D. He notes the changes and developments of his age and thus many of the additions to the rules of Tolkāppiyam are posited by him in his commentary. They have been adopted into sūtras by the later-day grammarian Pavaṇanti.

Cēṉāvaraiyar

His commentary is extant only for the second part of Tolkāppiyam, i e., Collatikāram. Dr. P.S Sastri states that a careful study of the commentary on TC, 67, and 420 shows

that he differs from Iḷampūraṇar in the interpretation of the sūtra TE, 133 but he does not refute his views here but goes on arguing as if he has already refuted him. Hence Dr. Sastri infers that Cēṉāvaraiyar might have commented on Eḻuttatikāram also[1].

Cēṉāvaraiyar's style is subtle and simple, but at the same time, it is rigid. It is evident from his commentary that he was a profound scholar in Tamil and Sanskrit. His commentary on Collatikāram is considered to be the best one. His critical acumen and expositary capacity are well seen throughout his work.

In some places he has been criticized and his views are refuted by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and hence he is considered to be the predecessor of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar. He is said to belong to the 14th century A.D.

Pērāciriyar

Pērāciriyar's commentary is available only for the last four chapters of Poruḷatikāram.

His style is refined and concentrated but in some places pedantic. He is also the author of the commentary on Tirukkōvaiyār by Māṇickavācakar.

Nothing is definitely known about the age in which he lived.

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar

It is said that Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar has commented on the whole of Tolkāppiyam, but his commentary on the 6th, 7th and 9th chapters of Poruḷatikāram has not seen the light of day.

---

[1] Sastri, P S., *A Commentary on* TC, p. XXXV.

His commentary is very elaborate and is not as short and lucid as Iḷampūraṇar's nor is it as terse as Cēṉāvaraiyar's. He tries to bring in all the changes and developments of his time under the frame-work of Tolkāppiyam. Sometimes he condemns his predecessors, Iḷampūraṇar and Cēṉāvaraiyar, even though they are opposed to each other.

He is the most popular among the commentators. He has commented upon Pattuppāṭṭu (Ten Idylls), Kalittokai and Cīvakacintāmaṇi also. He seems to have been well versed in Tamil language and literature. In his commentaries on literary works he paraphrases the text and points out the grammatical peculiarities; he quotes sūtras from Tolkāppiyam throughout, explains obsolete words and gives the various readings which existed in his age. His impartial mind, vast erudition, and his minute and critical observation are appreciable.

His commentary on Eccaviyal, 19 and 61 bears testimony to the fact that he should have lived later than Pavaṇanti, the author of Naṉṉūl. There he refers to the later-day grammarians by the phrases '*piṉṉūl ceytavarkaḷ*' and '*piṉpu nūl ceytōr*'. However, he is said to have lived in the 14th century A. D. and he should have been, as Dr. P. S. Sastri thinks, an younger contemporary of Cēṉāvaraiyar[2].

Teyvaccilaiyār

Teyvaccilaiyār's commentary is available only for the second part of Tolkāppiyam, i. e, Collatikāram.

His commentary on some sūtras and his exposition of some grammatical aspects are especially very interesting. His knowledge in Sanskrit is not of so high an order as that o Cēṉāvaraiyar.

[2] Ibid., p. XXVIII.

His age is not definitely known. Some scholars think that he lived later than Naccinārkkiniyar and some others hold that his period was earlier.

Kallāṭanār

Kallāṭanār's commentary is available only for Collatikāram and that too is from the first sūtra of Collatikāram to a few sūtras in Iṭaiyiyal[3]. Recently this commentary has been published[4].

A close study of this commentary will reveal the fact that Kallāṭanār has studied the commentaries of Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar and has adopted the meaning which appealed to him to be correct.

His age is not definitely known. He must have been later than Naccinārkkiniyar. Since the author of Piraiyōka Vivēkam quotes him, he must have lived earlier than the 18th century A. D., to which Piraiyōka Vivēkam is assigned.

An Unknown Commentator

There is an ananymous commentary on Collatikāram, from the beginning upto the 33rd sutra of Vēṟṟumaiyiyal. This commentary is also recently published along with that of Kallāṭanār[5]. A careful study of this commentary will show that it is mainly based on Iḷampūraṇar's. In some places the

[3] TC, 1-260, i. e., from the beginning upto 33rd sūtra of Iṭaiyiyal.

[4] Recently the commentary on Collatikāram by Kallāṭanār has been published by the S. I. S. S. W. Publishing Society.

[5] Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, MS. No. 56. Recently (1964) it has been published by the S. I. S. S. W. Publishing Society.

commentary of Naccinārkkiniyar is followed and in some other places the views of Cēnāvaraiyar are also referred to.

Dr. P. S. Sastri infers from the commentary on the last sūtra of Vērrumaiyiyal that the commentary should have been later than those of Cēnāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar[6].

P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri

Dr. P. S. Sastri has written an elaborate commentary on Eluttatikāram in Tamil and a commentary on Collatikāram in English. He has collected the different views of the earlier commentators and has put forth his own explanations. In some places his interpretations are entirely new and are interesting to the scholars.

A short commentary in English for Eluttatikāram and Porulatikāram has also been published by him.

---

[6] Sastri, P. S., op. cit., p. XL.

Appendix III

Scholars Who Worked on the Grammar of Tolkāppiyam

Tolkāppiyam has been a neglected field of study after the time of the commentators. The indigenous scholars have been afraid of the rules codified by the author in Tolkāppiyam, since they were looked upon as rigid prescriptions for language. Only recently, i. e., from the fourth decade of the twentieth century, scholars became interested in the study of Tolkāppiyam.

It may be stated that Dr. P. S. Sastri was the pioneer to initiate interest among the later-day scholars towards the study of Tolkāppiyam. With a purpose of comparing the grammatical theories in Tamil with that of Sanskrit, he studied Tolkāppiyam and other grammatical works in Tamil. His thesis "History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and Their Relation to the Grammatical Literature in Sanskrit" (Madras, 1934) is the outcome of his deep and intensive study of Tolkāppiyam. Since his concern was mainly to trace the historical developments of grammatical theories in Tamil and to compare them with those of Sanskrit, he could not render full justice to the treatment of grammatical theories in Tolkāppiyam. However, many a rule from Tolkāppiyam has been invariably quoted and discussed in his thesis and in his work on "Comparative Grammar of Tamil Language" (Tiruvadi, Tanjore Dt., 1947).

Then Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, the well-known Dravidian linguist, in the course of his studies on Dravidian

languages in general and Tamil language in particular, quotes many relevant rules from Tolkāppiyam and discusses them briefly. The following papers and books contributed by him represent the description of some rules from Tolkāppiyam also.

1. The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology (Ernakulam, 1936)
2. Dravidian Nominal Inflexion (ER, 42, p. 589-594; 644-657; 714-716)
3. Dravidic Sandhi - Augments (QJMS, 28, p. 96-110)
4. The Old Tamil Verb (QJMS, 30, p. 163-170)
5. Indigenous Tamil Grammars on the Verbs "Come" and "Give" (JAOS, p. 215-216)
6. The Morphology of Old Tamil Verb (An., 33, p. 747-781).

Mr. Venkatarajulu Reddiyar's interest towards the grammar of Tamil language is deeply appreciated by most of the indigenous scholars. He describes a few of the morphological structures treated in Tolkāppiyam from his intuitive erudition and deep understanding. His findings and contributions are valuable to students of Tolkāppiyam. In this connection the following contributions which he has made may be cited:

1. Iṉṉāṉ ētu iṅku (AORM, III: II, p. 1-4)
2. Dravidic Pronouns (Madras, 1939)
3. Viyaṅkōl (AORM, IV, p. 1-29)
4. Ēval Viṉaiyamaippu (SPV, 1961, p. 323-328)

Then Dr. Varadarajaṉār has worked on the verbs for his thesis "Origin and Development of Verbs in Tamil" (submitted

to the Madras University, 1944). He has described the treatment of verbs in Tolkāppiyam. The study undertaken by him is of a historical nature rather than of a descriptive one, yet a number of his findings hold good and are of immense value to a scholar who attempts to decipher Tolkāppiyam. His article " Kuṟippuviṉai " (TCult., VIII, p. 84-94) is an elucidation of the formal and functional characteristics of a morphological structure treated in Tolkāppiyam.

Dr. Ilakkuvaṉār in the course of his studies on Tamil language refers to a number of sūtras from Tolkāppiyam. His thesis "Origin and Growth of Tamil language" (submitted to the University of Madras, 1946) and other publications "Semantemes and Morphemes in Tamil Language" (Nagercoil, 1957) and "Tamil Language" (Madras, 1961) are the outcome of his studies in Tamil with reference to Tolkāppiyam. Recently in his published thesis "Tolkāppiyam with Critical Studies" (Madurai, 1963), which covers the whole of Tolkāppiyam he has briefly discussed the important grammatical rules treated in Tolkāppiyam.

In 1948, Dr. V. SP. Manickam made a study on "The Tamil Verbs" (submitted to the Madras University, 1948) in which he refers to the relevant sūtras of Tolkāppiyam. He has collected and classified the various types of verbs in Tamil.

Then it must be mentioned that Dr. Zvelebil, K., who has been rendering yeoman service to the description of Tamil language, by his indefatigable and stupendous efforts, has referred to a few aspects of the grammar Tolkāppiyam in the course of his attempts to describe the different morphological structures of Old Tamil.[1]

---

[1] Zvelebil, K., Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu - A study on Late Old Tamil (Ar. Or., 25, p. 56-82).

———, Emphasis in Early Old Tamil (TCult., IV, p. 226-234).

Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran in his learned article "The So-called Inflexional Increments in Tamil"[1] (IL, Turner Jubilee Volume II, p. 125-130) describes the 'cāriyais' enumerated in Tolkāppiyam and arrives at a few note-worthy conclusions. His work on the "History of the Tamil Language" (Poona) also contains descriptions of a number of morphological structures treated in Tolkāppiyam and paves the way for further study and advanced research in Tolkāppiyam.

In 1960, Miss R Seethabai prepared an index for the whole of Tolkāppiyam[2] and in that she has made an attempt to trace the pre-Tolkāppiyam grammar. To some extent, she has succeeded in describing the language of Tolkāppiyam. As it has not been her concern to study the treatment of grammar in Tolkāppiyam, she has confined herself to the presentation and classification of the different grammatical structures used and discussed in Tolkāppiyam.

Recently, Miss. N. Rajalakshmi of Annamalai University has worked on the "History of Tamil with Reference to Declensions" (submitted to the Annamalai University, 1961), in which she frequently quotes the rules from Tolkāppiyam and discusses them giving the explanations cited by the commentators. Some of her discussions are worthy of notice.

It is desirable and expected that more and more studies on this most important work in Tamil language from the modern point of view will follow so as to enable the students of Tamil language to get a better understanding of this work.

Zvelebil, K., Dative in Early Old Tamil (TCult., VIII p. 93-107).

————, Lectures on Historical Grammar of Tamil (University of Madras, 1963).

[2] Seethabai, R., A Study of Index of Words in Tolkāppiyam (submitted to the University of Madras, 1960).

Appendix IV

A Few Contradictions Between the Grammar of Tolkāppiyam and the Usages of Caṅkam literature.

The grammatical rules of Tolkāppiyam are not strictly followed even in the earliest literature called Caṅkam works. Every language has ever been changing. Tamil is not an exception to this universal truth and this can best be seen when one looks into the history of Tamil language from Tolkāppiyam period to Caṅkam period, from Caṅkam to the middle and from the middle to the modern period. Thus the living language Tamil has ever been changing and developing, as Tolkāppiyaṉār himself indicates[1], discarding many old rules and evolving many new ones.

Changes can be noticed in vocabulary, meaning, phonology and grammar, i e., morphology and syntax. Here a few changes of grammatical usages from the period of Tolkāppiyam to Caṅkam period are cited. Those changes may be looked under three different sub-heads :- (1) The restrictions of usages prescribed in Tolkāppiyam and their violation in Caṅkam works, (2) The usages of Caṅkam work that are not found discussed in Tolkāppiyam, (3) The treatment of peculiar usages in Tolkāppiyam and their non-occurrence in the literature of Caṅkam or later period.

Restriction of Usages Formulated in Tolkāppiyam and Their Violation in Caṅkam Works.

1. The use of 'viyaṅkol' - optatives is restricted to the third person only in Tolkāppiyam[2]. An explanation has already

[1]. TC, 452.
[2]. TC, 226.

been cited (12.1.2) in the present study only for the rare violation of this restriction, but one can find a number of usages violating this restriction in Caṅkam literature.

E. g.,	vāḻiyar yāṉ	(PN, 365)	"May I live long"
	nī vāḻiyar	(PN, 137)	"May you live long"
	ceytēṉ ākuka	(PN, 71)	"May I be considered to have done it".

(Ref. PN, 2, 6, 9, 72; NT, 34; AN, 13, 46, 54, 59)

2. The use of plural forms to denote one person or one object (to denote honorific singular) was only allowed in speech (i. e., in colloquial dialect) at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār[3] (2.9.2). But it became classical (i. e., came into vogue in literature) in Caṅkam period.

E. g., koṭiyar allar eṅkuṉṟu keḻu nāṭar (Kuṟu , 87)
ūrīr pōlac - curattiṭai iruntaṉir (PN, 141).

The words *koṭiyar* and *ūrīr* are plural nouns. Here they are used in honorific singular (2. 9. 2).

3. In Tolkāppiyam simile or comparison is divided into four kinds, viz., comparison of action, comparison of effect comparison of shape and comparison of colour[4] (17. 13. 1). Tolkāppiyaṉār classifies the particles of comparison into four groups and ordains severally their usages for specific similes or comparisons of defined purposes and types[5] (17. 13. 2). But there is not anyone of the Caṅkam classics which has not broken this classified usages.

---

3. TC, 27.

4. TP, 276.

5. TP, 286-291.

4. According to Tolkāppiyam, the case marker *-ai* is invariably present with the rational and common nouns[6] (2. 3, 5; 6. 7) in the accusative. But there are instances in Caṅkam literature for the elision of -ai after the rational nouns in the accusative case.

E. g., *vēntar- ōṭṭiya ēntuvēl naṉṉaṉ* (NT, 70)

5. Tolkāppiyaṉār codifies that all non-rational nouns take -ē, when they occur in the vocative case[7] (6. 7). But in some instances this rule is violated in Caṅkam literature.

E. g., *varuntiṉai vāḻiy-eṉṉeñcam* (NT, 356)

6. The verbs *cel* and *koṭu* are permitted to be used only with reference to third person and *vā* and *tā* only with reference to first and second persons, according to the rules of Tolkāppiyam[8]. This restriction is violated throughout Caṅkam literature.

7. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the use of plural suffix *-kaḷ* was restricted to the non-rational nouns only and that too optionally (2.4). But a few occurrence of the suffix-*kaḷ* is found with the rationals in Caṅkam literature.

E. g.. *maṟṟaiyavar-kaḷ* (TK, 263)
pūriyar-kaḷ (TK, 919)
aivar-kaḷ (KT, 26)

8. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the subject and the predicate must agree in number-gender[9] (2. 8. 5). But there are occasional instances of usage violating this rule found in Caṅkam Tamil.

---

6. TE, 157.
7. TC, 151.
8. TC, 28-30.
9. TC, 11.

E. g., *ariyunar inru* (NT, 309)

It must be pointed out here that 'inru' is not cited as a common verb either by Tolkāppiyaṉār or by the commentators[10].

Usages of Cańkam Period That are not Found Treated in Tolkāppiyam.

1. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār recognizes the imperative aspect of verbs, he includes the imperative verbs under second person verbs only. There also the plural imperative marker *-um~-m* is not mentioned with the second person verbal terminations. But a number of imperative verbs with the marker *-um* (*-m*) are found to occur in Cańkam literature (11.10)

E. g.,	*uṇm*	(PN, 178)	*uṇ-m*
	vam	(AK, 411)	*va-m*
	vārum	(Pari, 14)	*vār-um*

Such forms occur as plural or honorific singular imperatives in Cańkam literature.

2. The use of *-aṉ* as a terminal suffix in the first person singular verbs is not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam. But a number of first person singular verbs with *-aṉ* termination are found in Cańkam works.

E. g,	*aṟikuvaṉ*	(PN, 109)
	kūṟuvaṉ	(NT, 233)
	uḷḷiṉaṉ	(NT, 326)
	ilaṉ	(Kuṟu, 311)

3. Tolkāppiyaṉār describes the dropping of the final -u- and the preceding consonant in the adjectival participles only[11].

10. TC, 222.

11. TC, 238.

But in Cañkam literature the dropping of the final vowel -u- or the vowel -u- and the preceding consonant is found not only in the finite verbs of 'ceyyum' pattern but also in the imperatives of the same pattern.

E. g., 1. 'ceyyum' pattern indicative verbs

moḻimē (Kuṟu., 51)

ām (PN, 134)

2. 'ceyyum' pattern imperative verbs

uṇm (PN, 178) *vam* (AK, 411)

4. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not give the patterns of -pāṉ, -vāṉ and -pākku ending adverbial participles. But they are found used in Cañkam literature and in the later works.

E. g., *kāṇpāṉ*	(KT. 97)	*kāṇ-pāṉ*
varuvāṉ	(KT, 113)	*varu-vāṉ*
eṉpākku	(TK, 136)	*eṉ-pākku*

5. Tolkāppiyaṉār does not give -ī or -īmō in the list of second person terminations; but he gives -mō as an expletive particle of second person [12]. The forms with the ending -īmō are also found to occur in Cañkam Tamil. -īmō may be segmented as ī-m-ō; -ī- may be identified as second person marker; -m- (mild) imperative plural marker and -ō as an original interrogative particle; but used here to invite attention.

E. g., *ceṉṟīmō*	(KT, 67)	*ceṉṟu-ī-m-ō*
karaintīmō	(AK, 391)	*karaintu-ī-m-ō*
vantīmō	(NT, 156)	*vantu-ī-m-ō*

12. TC, 274.

6. The usages like vantīku (NT, 221), ayarntīkam (KT, 31), etc, are not discussed in Tolkāppiyam. Here, ī-ku may be identified as an auxiliary verb (17. 10. 8), which is formed from the root ī and is, here, added to the past adverbial participles.

7. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār discusses the numerals elaborately in Eḻuttatikāram, the numeral kōti "crore", which does not find a place in his treatment, is found to occur in Caṅkam works (PN, 18; 184 202, 393, TK, 377). He cites the variants of different numerals also in Tolkāppiyam. But he does not mention naṉ (AN, 104) and nālku (AN, 104) as the variants of nāṉku"four" which are found to occur in Caṅkam literature (4.6).

Treatment of a few Peculiar Usages in Tolkāppiyam and Their Non-occurrence in Caṅkam or Later period.

1. The words like tāṉ and pēṉ as proper nouns, and the words aḷaṉ and puḷaṉ are not found to occur in Caṅkam works[13].

2. The constructions 'ellānammaiyum', 'ellānammotum' etc., are not found used in Caṅkam literature[14] (3.4).

3. In a sūtra[15], Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the -i ending demonstrative and interrogative words, for which all the commentators cite atōḷi, itōḷi, utōḷi, and etōḷi as examples. These words are not found to occur in Caṅkam literature.

13. TC, 193, 351, 354.

14. TE, 189, 190.

15. TE, 159.

Therefore, it stands to reason that Tolkāppiyam must have preceded all the earliest extant literature[16]. If the erudite descriptive grammarian had lived at the time of or after the Caṅkam works, he could not have made rules in disregard of the usages found in all these classic poems.

---

16 It may not be wrong even if one assumes that at least a few stanzas of the eight anthologies (eight collections) might have been composed earlier than Tolkāppiyam, if they do not contradict the grammatical theories expounded in Tolkāppiyam.

Appendix V

Poetic or Literary Vocabulary.

Tolkāppiyaṉār divides the words that are used in poetry into four groups. They are 'iyaṟcol', 'tiricol', 'ticaiccol' and 'vaṭacol'[1]. Since all the earliest extant literary works are in poetic form, the words that are employed in them may be identified as literary vocabulary.

Cēṉāvaraiyar states that 'ticaiccol' and vaṭacol are found only as nouns[2]. According to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar they are mostly found as nouns and sometimes as verbal nouns[3]. Teyvaccilaiyār thinks that mostly they are found as nouns and sometimes[4] as verbs.

'*Iyaṟcol*' - natural words, i. e., native words or common indigenous words.

The words that are employed in conformity with the usage of Centamiḻ land without change in their meaning are called 'iyaṟcol'[5]. They express meaning naturally and they are intelligible to the ignorant and the learned alike. Their meaning is unchanged all over Tamil Nad. These words are common both to the colloquial and literary dialects of Tamil. This

1. TC, 397.
2. Cēṉā., A Commentary on TC, 397.
3. Nac., A Commentary on TC, 397.
4. Tey., A Commentary on TC, 392.
5. TC, 398.

group of words forms the major portion of the vocabulary of literature.

E. g., *nilam*, *pāl*, *kol*, *makkaḷ*, etc.

'*Tiricol*' - variable words or affected words, i. e., words which are of varied nature (in form or meaning).

Tolkāppiyaṉār does not define what 'tiricol' is, but classifies it under two sub-groups, viz., different words having one meaning. i. e., synonyms and one word having many meanings, i. e., homonyms[6]. The definition of 'tiricol' is patent from its name which denotes its varying nature.

According to Cēnāvaraiyar and P. S. Sastri, 'tiricol' is one which is modified in form[7]. Dr. Ilakkuvaṉār thinks that it is called 'tiricol', since the meanings of such a group of words will be varied[8]. One may rightly conclude 'tiricol' is that which is varied either in form or in meaning.

This group of words belongs to literature only and is not current in colloquial dialect. Hence it will not be easily understood by the laymen or sometimes even by the scholars.

E. g., synonyms veṟpu, vilaṅkal, viṇṭu "mountain"
homonym ekiṉam "swam", "dog", "deer", etc

Ticaiccol - literally means direction words, i. e, regional words or dialectal words.

The words that are adopted in literary Tamil from the dialects current in the twelve divisions of Tamil-Nad are called 'ticaiccol'[9]

6. TC, 399.
7. Cēṉā., op. cit., TC, 399.
Sastri, P. S., A Commentary on TC, 399.
8. Ilakkuvaṉār, S., Tolkāppiyam with Critical Studies, P. 366.
9. TC, 400.

Though chaste Tamil was spoken in the Tamil-Nad with Vēṅkaṭam on the north and Kumari on the south boundary, there were peculiar usages current in different regions. The words, that were peculiar to a particular region, were at times, adopted in the standard literary Tamil. These dialectal words denoted meanings which were familiar to that region only.

M. Raghava Ayyangar considers 'ticaiccol' as foreign words and explains his view from the very term 'ticaiccol' itself which, according to him, denotes non-Tamil words[10]. On considering this view, it must be remembered that Tamil had no contact with any other language except Sanskrit (and Prakrit) before the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār and the present-day sister languages of Tamil (Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, etc.) had not developed into independent languages, when Tolkāppiyaṉār formulated the grammar for Tamil. They were different dialects of Tamil and mutually intelligible[11]. Tamil had come into contact with other foreign languages and the different dialects of border areas developed into different independent languages only after Tolkāppiyam. Thus the later-day grammarian Pavaṇanti had to formulate rules to include the foreign words of later period also. So, he included them also along with dialectal words under 'ticaiccol'[12]. Viewing the later contacts and developments in mind, the scholars of to-day claim that Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the foreign words other than Sanskrit by the term 'ticaiccol'. The commentators also interpret the sūtra dealing with 'ticaiccol', thinking of their own time.

The different dialectal words were current in twelve different parts of Tamil-Nad. Thus it may be concluded that by the

10. Raghava Ayyangar, M., Kaṭṭurai Maṇikaḷ, p. 5-9.
11. Hockett, C. F., A Course in Modern Linguistics, p. 321-329.
12. Pavaṇanti Muṉivar, Naṉṉūl, 273.

term 'ticaiccol', Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the dialectal words only and not to the foreign words other than Sanskrit.

E g., *taḷḷai* for *tāy* "mother" (Kuṭṭanad)
accaṉ for *tantai* "father" (Kuṭanad)

'*Vaṭacol*' - words of northern language, i. e,, mainly the Sanskrit words.

Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar consider only Sanskrit words as 'vaṭacol', while Teyvaccilaiyār includes words borrowed from Prakrit also[13]. Later-day scholars think that by the term 'vaṭacol' Tolkāppiyaṉār refers to the Sanskrit words only.

According to Tolkāppiyaṉār, the words that are made up of sounds other than those which are peculiar to Sanskrit, may be adopted in Tamil[14]. Cēṉāvaraiyar by way of further elucidation of this view of Tolkāppiyaṉār says that words having sounds common to both the languages are borrowed into Tamil[15].

E. g., *mēru*, *kāraṇam*, *amalam*, etc.

Sometimes when Sanskrit words are borrowed into Tamil, they may be modified in sound or/and form. Therefore, Tolkāppiyaṉār further approves the usage of such modified words of Sanskrit in Tamil, if they are in agreement with the phonemic system of the Tamil language[16].

E. g, *tacam*, *pākam*, etc. (modified in sound)
naṭṭam, *kaṇṇan*, etc (modified in form and sound)

---

13. Tey., op. cit., TC, 396.
14. TC, 401.
15. Cēṉā., op., cit., 401.
16. TC, 402.

Selected Bibliography

1. Agesthialingom Pillai, S. A., Description of the Language of "Patiṟṟuppattu" (An Unpublished Dissertation). Trivandrum: University of Kerala, 1962.

2. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai, S., *Dravidic Studies III: The Sankritic Element in the Vocabularies of the Dravidian Languages.* Madras : Superintendent, Government Press, 1923.

3. Andronov, M., "On the Future Tense Base in Tamil", TCult., VIII (1959), p. 186-192.

4. ———, "On the Uses of Participles and Participial Nouns in Tamil", TCult, VIII (1959), p. 249-258.

5. ———, "Hints Regarding the Origin of the Present Tense Suffix Kiṉṟ in Tamil", TCult., IX (1961), p. 145-150.

6. ———, "Dravidian Languages". Ar. Or., 31 (1963), p. 177-183.

7. Arden, A. H., *A progressive Grammar of Common Tamil.* 5th ed,, revised throughout by A. C. Clayton.

Madras; The Christian Literature Society for India, 1942.

8. Benjamin Elson and Pickett, Velma B., *An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax*. California: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Santa Ana, 1962.

9. Beythan, Hermann, *Praktische Grammatik Der Tamils prache*. Leipzig; Otto Harrasowitz, 1943.

10. Bharati, S.S., "The Age of Tolkāppiyam", JAU VI (1936), p. 121-138 and 216-229.

11. Bhattacharya, Sudhibhushan, *Ollari, A Dravidian Speech*. Calcutta: Indian Museum, 1956.

12. Billigiri, H. S., "Kannada Verb : Two Models" IL, Turner Jubilee Volume II (1959), p. 66-89.

13. Bloch, Bernard and Trager, George L., *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1942.

14. Bloch, Jules, *The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages* (Translated into English by Ramakrishna Ganesh Harshe). Poona: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, 1954.

15. Bloomfield, Leonard, *Language*. New York : Henry Holt and Co., 1933.

16. Bodmer Frederick, *The Loom of Language*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1944.

17. Bray, Denys De S., *The Brahui Language*. Calcutta : Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1909.

18. Bright, William, *An Outline of Colloquial Kannada*. Poona: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, 1958.

19. Burrow, T., "Dravidian Studies V: Initial y- and ñ- in Dravidian", BSO (A) S, XI (1946), p. 595-616.

20. ———, "Dravidian Languages" Champers's Encyclopedia (New ed.), VII (1950), p. 480-481.

21. ——— and Bhattacharya, S., *The Parji Language: A Dravidian Language of Bastar*. Hertford: Stephan Austin and Sons Ltd., 1953.

22. Burrow, T., and Emeneau, M. B., *An Etymological Dictionary* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.

23. Caldwell, Robert, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*. 3rd revised ed. Madras: University of Madras, 1961.

24. Carrol, John B., *The Study of Language*. Cambridges Harvard University Press, 1953.

25. Cēṉāvaraiyar, *A Commentary on Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram with notes by Kandaswamiyar*. Madras: The S I S.S.W.

Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, Ltd., 1923 ed.

26. Chatterji, S. K., *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language.* Calcutta: University Press, 1926.

27. Chettiar, A. C., "The Passive Voice in Tamil", JAU, VII (1937), p. 124-133 and VIII (1938), p. 23-34.

28. ———, "The Language of Nakkirar", NIA, IV (1941), p. 174-178.

29. ———, *Advanced Studies in Prosody.* Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1943.

30. ———, "The Dravidian Neuter Plural", JAU, XIV (1949), p. 1-4.

31. Elayaperumal, M., "The "Mār" Suffix in Early Tamil Literature" IL, Ralph Turner Jubilee Volume I (1958), p. 177-181.

32. Emeneau, M. B., "The Dravidian Verbs 'come' and 'Give'", Lg., 21 (1945), p. 184-213.

33. ———, "Dravidian Kinship Terms", Lg., 29 (1953), p. 339-353.

34. ———, "Dravidian Languages", Collier's Encyclopedia, 6 (1956), p. 569.

35. ———, *Kolami, A Dravidian Language.* 2nd ed., Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1961.

36. ———, "Numerals in Comparative Linguistics (with Special Reference to Dravidian)", BIHP, XXIX (1957), p. 1-10 (reprint).

37. ———, "Dravidian Languages", The Encyclopedia America (rev. ed.), IX (1960). p. 312-313.

38. ———, *Collected papers*. Annamalainagar: Annamalai University (in print).

39. Entwistle, William J., *Aspects of Language*. London: 24 Russel Square, 1951.

40. Francis, Nelson W., *The Structure of American English*. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958.

41. Ganeshsundaram, P. C., "A Note on the Morphemic Values of Consonants in Tamil", IL, Chatterji Volume (1955), p. 209-213.

42. George, K. M., *Ramacaritam and the Study of Early Malayalam*. The National Book Stall, Kottayam, Kerala State, India, 1956.

43. ———, "The Personal Termination in the Dravidian Verb with Special Reference to Malayalam", IL, 23 (1962), p. 31-48.

44. Gleason, Henry A. Jr., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, revised 2nd Ed. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1961.

45. Goda Varma, K., "A Study of the Personal Pronouns in the South Dravidian Languages", NIA, IV (1941-1942), p. 201-217.

46. Gray, Louis H., *Foundations of Languages*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939.

47. Grierson, G. A. (Ed), *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV. Calcutta, 1906.

48. Hall, Robert A., *Linguistics and your Language* (2nd revised Ed., of Leave your Language Alone) New York: Double day and Company, Inc., Garden City, 1960.

49. Harris, Zellig S., "Morpheme Alternants in Linguistic Analysis", Lg., 18 (1942) p. 169-180. Reprinted in RL (1958), p. 109-115).

50. ———, *Methods in Stuctural Linguistics* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951.

51. Hiremath, R. C,, *The Structure of Kannada*. Dharwar: Karnatak University, 1961.

52. Hockett, C. F., "Problems of Morphemic Analysis", Lg., 23 (1947), p. 321-343. (Reprinted in RL (1958), p. 229-242).

53. ———, "Two Models of Grammatical Description Word, 10 (1954)

p. 210-234. (Reprinted in RL (1958), p. 386-399).

54. ———, *A Course in Modern Linguistics.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958.

55. Hoisington, Henry, R., "Brief Notes on Tamil Language", JAOS, III (1853). p. 389-397.

56. Ilakkuvaṉār, S., *Origin and Growth of the Tamil Language* (An unpublished Thesis). Madras: University of Madras, 1946.

57. ———, Semantemes and Morphemes in Tamil Language. Nagercoil. 1957.

58. ———, *Tamil Language.* Madras: The S. I. S. S. W. Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, Ltd., 1961.

59. ———, *Tolkāppiyam with Critical Studies.* Madurai: Kuṟal Neṟi Publishing House, 1963.

60. Iḷampūraṇar. *A Commentary on Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* (*Namaccivaya Mudaliyar,* Ed.). Madras : C. Kumaraswamy Naidu and Sons, 1927 Ed.

61. ———, *A Commentary on Tolkāppiyam Eluttatikāṟam* (V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, Ed.). Ambasamudram, 1928 Ed.

62. Israel, M., "Āṉ Urupu" TPolil, 39 (1963), p. 149-152.

63. ———, "Attuccāriyai", TPoḻil, 39 (1963), p. 203-206.

64. ———, "Tolkāppiyattil Toḻiṟpeyar", TM. 2 (1964), p. 35-38.

65. ———, "Viṉaiyālaṇaiyum Peyar" TPoḻil, 39 (1964), p. 300-304.

66. ———, "Tolkāppiyattil Akkum Ikkum", TPoḻil, 39 (1964), p. 337-340.

67. ———, "Miyā Oru Acaiccollā? Aṉṟā?", TPoḻil, 40 (1964), p. 4-8.

68. ———, "Moḻiyil Oppumaiyākkattiṉ Celvākku", VVRS, 1964, p. 100-104.

69. ———, "Āṉ Oru Cāriyai Ākumā?" TPoḻil, 40 (1964), p. 133-136.

70. ———, "Ciṉ Oru Acainilaiyā? Aṉṟa?" TM, 2 (1964), p. 41-45.

71. ———, "Vaṟṟuccāriyai", TPoḻil' 40 (1964), p. 234-240.

72. ———, "Etirkālakkuṟiyīṭu -um/-m", CT, 60 (1964), p. 52-57.

73. ———, "Ēval Viṉaiyil Viṉāviṉ Āṟṟal, TPoḻil, 40 (1965), p. 313-320.

74. ———, "Tuṇai Viṉaikaḷ", TM, 2 (1965), p. 61-65.

75. ———, "The Finite Verbs of "Ceyyum" Pattern in Tamil", IL, 25 (1964), p. 179-181.

76. Jayakumari, V., Study of the Language of the Tamil Inscriptions upto the

middle of 11th Century A. D., with Appendix (An Unpublished Dissertation). Madras: University of Madras, 1959.

77. Jespersen, Otto, *Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin*: London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1922.

78. ———, *The Philosophy of Grammar*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1924.

79. Joos, Martin, *Readings in Linguistics*. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1958.

80. Kallāṭaṉār, *A Commentary on Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram*. Madras: The S.I.S.S.W. Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, Ltd., 1964.

81. Kanakasabhai, V., *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years ago*. Madras: Higginbotham and Co., 1904.

82. Kandaswamy, S. N., Paripāṭal, A Linguistic Study (An Unpublished Dissertation). Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1962.

83. Krishnambal, S. R., "Segmentation of Tamil Demonstrative Pronouns", IL, Ralph Turner Jubilee Volume I (1958), p. 172-176.

84. Krishnamurti, Bh., *Telugu Verbal Bases, A Comparative and Descriptive Study*.

Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961.

85. Kuiper, F. B. J., A Private Communication, 1964.

86. Lahovary, N., *Dravidian Origins and The West.* Bombay: Orient Longmans Ltd., 1963.

87. Lazarus, John, *A Tamil Grammar designed for Use in Colleges and Schools.* Madras: Addison and Co., Mount Road, 1878.

88. Leigh Lisker, "Tamil Verb Classification", JAOS, 71 (1951), p. 111-114.

89. Lounsbury, Floyd G., "The Method of Descriptive Morphology" Oneida Verb Morphology, Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 48 (1953), p. 11-28. (Reprinted in RL (1958), p. 379-385)

90. Manickam, V. SP., The Tamil Verbs (An Unpublished Thesis). Madras: University of Madras, 1948.

91. Mariappa Bhat, M., "Plural Suffixes in Dravidian Languages" JORM, XVI (1946), p. 71-75.

92. ———, "Uḷ, An Archaic Kannada Suffix" AORM, XVI (1960), I: p, 1-5.

93. Master, Alfred, "The Zero Negative in Dravidian", TPS, 1946, p. 137-155.

94 ———, Review to Structure Grammaticale des Langues Dravidiennes," JRAS, 1949, p. 106-107.

95. Meenakshisundaran, T. P., "Tamil Moḻi Varalāṟu", Tamil Encyclopedia, V (1958), p.466-478.

96. ———, "The Tamil of the Seventeenth Century" IL, Ralph Turner Jubilee Volume I (1958), p. 7-19.

97. ———, "The Teaching of Tamil Grammar" TCult., VII (1958), p. 263-287.

98. ———, "The So-called Inflexional Increments in Tamil", IL, Ralph Turner Jubilee Volume II (1959), p. 125-130.

99. ———, *Collected Papers. Sixty-First Birth Day Commemoration Volume* Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1961.

100. ———, *Papers on Linguistics and Literature.* Sixty - Fifth - Birth-Day Commemoration Volume, Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1965.

101. ———, *A History of the Tamil Language.* Poona: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute 1965.

102. Morris, Richard, *Historical Outlines of English Accidence.* London: The Macmillan and Co., 1881.

103. Murugarathanam, T., A Linguistic Study of Aṇṭāḷ's Works (An Unpublished Thesis): Madras: University of Madras, 1963.

104. Naccinārkkiniyar, *A Commentary on Tolkāppiyam Eluttatikāram with Footnotes by* G. Devaneyappavanar. Madras: The S. I. S. S. W. Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, Ltd., 1944 Ed.

105. ———, *A Commentary on Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* (Rama Govinda Pillai, Ed.). Tañcai Saraswathi Mal Publications, 1962.

106. Nida, Eugene A., "A System for the Identification of Morphemes", Lg., 24 (1948), p. 414-441. (Reprinted in RL (1958), p. 255-271)

107. ———, *Morphology, the Descriptive Analysis of Words.* 2nd ed., University of Michigan Publications in Linguistics, No. 2, Michigan: Michigan University, 1949.

108. ———, *Linguistic Interludes.* Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc., California; Santa Ana, 1960.

109. Nithiya Kalyani, R., The Language of Narrinai (An Unpublished Dissertation). Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1963.

110. Palmer, L. R.. *An Introduction to Modern Linguistics.* London: The Mac- n illan and Co. Ltd., 1936.

111. Parameswari., Janguage of Tirukkural (An Unpublished Thesis). Annamalai-nagar: Aanamalai University, 1961.

112. Pavananti Munivar *Nannūl* (with a Commentary by Satagopa Ramanujachariyar and Krishnamurthi) Madras: Triplicane, 1951.

113. Pei, Mario A.. *Story of Language.* London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1952.

114. Pei Mario A., and Frank Gaynor, *A Dictionary of Linguistics.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1954.

115. Pei, Mario A., *All About Language.* London: Lane (John) The Broadley Head Ltd., 1956.

116. Pike, Kenneth L., *Phonemics.* Michigan: The Michigan University Press, Ann ArBor, 1947.

117. Pillai, S. K., The *Ancient Tamils as Depicted in Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram.* Madras: 71, Mint Street, 1934.

118. Pope, G. U., *A Larger Grammar of Tami Language.* Madras: The American Mission Press, 1859.

119. ———, *A Hand Book of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1911.

120. Purnalingam Pillai, M. S., *Tamil Literature.* revised and enlarged ed., The Bibliotheca, Munnirpalam, Tinnevelly Dt., S. India, 1929.

121. Radhakrishnan S., Tamil Numerals. Grammar, IL, 24 (1963), p. 110-122.

122. Raghavayangār, *Conjugation of Tamil Verbs* (Viṉaittiripu Viḷakkam). Manamadurai, 1958.

123. ———, *Kaṭṭuraimaṇikaḷ* (Narayana Aiyyangar, Ed.) Manamadurai, 1959.

124. Raghavan Pillai, K., "The Adjective in Malayalam", JKU, Silver Jubilee Special (1963), p. 111-124.

125. Rajalakshmi, N., History of Tamil Grammar with Special Reference to Declension (An Unpublished Dissertation). Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1961.

126. Rajam, V., Verbal Roots in Tamil (An Unpublished Dissertation). Madras: University of Madras, 1959.

127. Rajamanickam, M., "The Date of Tolkāppiyam", AORM, XIX (1964), II: p. 1-17.

128. Ramachandra Dikshitar, V. R., *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*. Madras: University of Madras, 1930.

129. Ramakrishnaiah, K , "The Dravidian Passive", AORM, II (1937-1938,) II: p. 1-18.

130. Ramaswami Aiyar, L.V., "Causal Verbs in Dravidian" ER, XXXIV (1928), p. 166-171.

131. ———, "Dravidic Word-Base", An., 26 (1931), p. 741-767.

132. ———, "The Interrogative Base of Dravidian", IA, 61 (1932), p 3-5 and 25-30.

133. ———. "Tamil and Malayalam", MCM, XVIII (1935). p. 210-222.

134. ———, "Dravidian Nominal Inflexion", ER, XLII (1936), p. 589-594; 644-654 and 711-716.

135. ———, The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology. Ernakulam: Cochin Government Press, 1936.

136. ———, "Linguistic Preservations in Malayalam" JORM, XI (1937), p. 3-10.

137. ———, "The Language of Kalittokai", JORM, XI (1937), p. 251-268.

138. ———, "Dravidic Sandhi - Augments" QJMS, 28 (1937-1938), p. 96-110.

139. ———, "The Language of Tiruvalluvar", QJMS, 28 (1937-1938), p. 191-204.

140. ———, "The Morphology of the Old Tamil Verb", An., 33 (1938), p. 747-781.

141. ———, "Some Parallelisms and Divergences in South Indian Dravidian" ER, XLIV (1938), p. 733-736 and XLV (1939), p. 31-33.

142. ———, "A Modern Malayalam Tense Form", QJMS, 30 (1939-1940), p. 386-396.

143. ———, "The Old Tamil Verb", QJMS, 30 (1939-1940), p. 163-174.

144. ———, "The Language of Ramacaritam", JORM, XVI (1946), p. 7-19.

145. ———, "Indigenous Tamil Grammars on the Verbs "Come" and "Give", JAOS, 67 (1947), p. 212-216.

146. Sankaran, C. R., "Reconstruction of the Proto-Dravidian Pronouns", BDCRI, I (1939), p. 96-105.

147. Sankaran: C. R., and Sekhar, A, C., "Middle Dravidian Morphology", BDCRI, VI (1945), p. 157-234.

148. Sapir, Edward, *Language*. New York: Hartcourt, Brace and Co., 1921.

149. ———, "The Southern Paiute Language, PAAS, 65 (1930), p. 1-296.

150. Sathasivam, A., "The Suffix "Ci<u>n</u>" in Cankam Tamil", TCult., VII (1958), p. 140-149.

151. ———, Annotated Index of Aiṅkuṟunūṟu and a Critical Study Thereon (An Unpublished Dissertation) Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1961,

152. ———, "Accentual system of Old Tamil", Mi. Ma Ma., 1961, p. 401-420.

153. Seetha Bai, R., A Study of Index of Words in Tolkāppiyam (An Unpublished Dissertation). Madras: University of Madras, 1960.

154. Sekhar, A. C., "Evolution of Malayalam", BDCRI, XII (1951), p. 1-216.

155. Shankara Bhat, D. N.. "Kannada Verb Morphology", BDCRI, XXI (1963), p. 1-18.

156. Shunmugam Pillai .M., "Derivative Nouns in Modern Tamil", IL, 22 (1961), p. 145-159.

157. Simeon, Potter, *Modern Linguistics* London: Carlise Street, Soho Square, 1957.

158. Sivaraja Pillai, K. N., Untu Eṉṉum Iṭaiccoṟpirayōkam allatu Puṟanāṉūṟṟiṉ Paḻamai. Madras: University of Madras, 1929.

159. ———, The Chronology of the Early Tamils. Madras: University of Madras, 1932.

160. Srinivasa Aiyangar, M., *Tamil Studies.* Madras: The Gaurdian Press, 19.4.

161. Srinivasa Pillai, K S., *Tamiḻ Varalāṟu* (Part II - Section I) 2nd ed., Kumbakonam: Kamakshi Amman Press, 1924.

162. Srinivasan, R., Structure of the Nouns in Kaḷiṟṟu Yāṉai Nirai of Akanāṉūṟu (An Unpublished Dissertation). Madras : University of Madras, 1961.

163. Sten Konow *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV (G. A , Grierson, Ed). Calcutta, 1906.

164. Subbiah, K. V., "A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages", IA, 39 (1910), p. 145-158 and 40 (1911), p. 184-189 ; 241-246.

165. ———, *Dravidic Studies II:* The Pronouns and the Pronominal Terminations of the First Person in Dravidian. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1923.

166. Subrahmanya Sastri, P. S., "Compounds in Tamil Language", JORM, II (19:8), p. 105-110.

167. ———, *Tolkāppiyam-Eḻuttatikāram with an English Commentary*. Madras: Journal of Oriental Research, 1930.

168. ———, *Tolkāppiyac-Collatikārak-Kuṟippu*. Tiruchi: Teppakkulam, 1930.

169. ———, History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and Their Relation to the Grammatical Literature in Sanskrit. Madras : Journal of Oriental Research, 1934.

170. ———, *Tamil Molinūl.* Tiruchi: Jegam and Co., Dodson Press, Teppakkulam, 1936.

171. ———, *Tolkāppiyam-Collatikāram with an English Commentary.* Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1945.

172. ———, *Historical Tamil Reader.* Annamali Nagar: Annamalai University 1945.

173. ———, *Comparative Grammar of Tamil Language.* Tiruvadi: Tanjore Dt., 1947.

174. ———, "Introduction" to the Seventeenth Publication (i. e., to the commentary on Tolkāppiyam Eluttatikāram by Naccinārkkiniyar), p. 1-11. Madras: The S. I. S. S. W. Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, Ltd., 1923 Ed.

175. Subramanian, S. V., Descriptive Grammar of Cilappatikāram (An Unpublished Dissertation). Trivandrum: University of Kerala, 1961.

176. Subramoniam, V. I., A Descriptive Analysis of a Dialect of Tamil. A Dissertation (Unpublished) Submitted to the Indiana University, 1957.

177. ———, "Negatives", TCult., VIII (1959), p. 32-43.

178. ———, "Ceytu Eṉṉum Viṉaimuṟṟu", Mī. Ma. Ma., 1961, p. 315-321.

179. ———, *Index of Puranāṉuṟu*. Trivandrum: Department of Tamil. University of Kerala, 1962.

180. ———, "Malayalam Verb Classification", JKU, Silver Jubilee Special, 1963, p. 82-98.

181. ———, "Allum Illum", VVRS, 1964, p. 96-98.

182. Swaminatha Aiyar, R., "The Aryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronouns", OC, 3 (1924), p. 152-202.

183. Sweet, Henry "A New English Grammar (Part I). Oxford : The Clarendon Press, 1900.

184. Sundaram, M., "Tolkāppiyam Vaḻakkum Ceyyuḷum", AORM, XIX (1964), I: p.1 -8.

185. Sundaram, R. M., Grammatical Study of Pattuppāṭṭu with Indix, Text and Translation. (A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Kerala). Tirvandrum, 1964.

186. Suryanarayana Sastri, V. K., *History of Tamil Language*. Madurai : V S. Swaminathan, Book-seller and Publisher, Melakkopuratteru, 1927.

187. Teyvaccilaiyār, *A Commentary on Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram*. Tanjore : Karantait-Tamilccaṅkam, 1929 Ed.

*188. Tolkāppiyaṉār, *Tolkāppiyam Eḻuttatikāram* (with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's Commentary and with Footnotes by G. Devaneyappavanar). Madras : The S. I. S. S. W. Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, Ltd., 1944 Ed.

*189. ———, *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* (with Cēṉāvaraiyar's Commentary). Madras : The S. I. S. S. W. Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, Ltd., 1923 Ed.

*190. ———, *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram.* (Bavanandam Pillai, S., Ed.) Madras : Longmans, Green and Co., 167, Mount Road, 1917 Ed.

191. Unknown Commentator (An), *A Commentary on Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* (1.117), Madras : The S. I. S. S. W. Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, Ltd., 1964 Ed.

192. Vaiyapuri Pillai, S, *Tamil Lexicon, Volumes I-IV with a Supplement.* Madras : University of Madras, 1926–1934; 1939.

193. ———, Researches in Dravidian Languages. Madras : Premier and Co., 1946.

194. ———, *History of Tamil Language and Literature* (Beginning to 100 A. D.) Madras : New Century Book House, 1956.

*In the present study the numbers of sūtras in Tolkāppiyam are referred to as those found in these publications.

195. Varadarajanār, M., *Origin and Development of Verbs in Tamil* (An Unpublished Dissertation). Madras: University of Madras, 1944.

196. ———, *Moḻinūl*. revised 2nd Ed., Madras: The S, I S. S. W. Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, Ltd., 1953.

197. ———, *Moḻi Iyarkaiṭṭuraikal*. Madras: Pari Nilayam, 59, Broadway, 1954.

198. ———, "The Analytic Tendency in Tamil", AORM, XIII (1957), p. 13-22.

199. ———, "Kurippu Viṉai", TCult., VIII (1959), p. 84-92.

200. ———, "Ām", Mi. Ma. Ma., 1961, p. 307-314.

201. ———, "Ellām", AORM, XVIII (1962), I: p. 1-14.

202. ———, "Tānum Tāmum", Tamil Āciriyar Kalakam Maṇimalar, 1963, p. 9-11 (Madras).

203. ———, "Adjectives in Tamil - Old and New" AORM, XIX (1964), II: p. 1-8.

204. Vendryes, J., *Language*. London: Roultedge Ekegan Paul Ltd., 1925.

205. Venkatarajulu Reddiyar, V., "Piṟaviṉaiyiṉ Vēṟupāṭu", AORM, II (1937-1938), II: p. 1-2.

206. ———, "Iṉṉāṉ Ētu Īṅku", AORM, III (1938-1939), II: p. 1-4.

207. ———, Dravidic Pronouns (Tamil). Madras: Department of Tamil, University of Madras, 1939.

208. ———, "Viyaṅkōl', AORM, IV (1939-1940), II: p. 1-24.

209. ———, "Ēval Viṉaiyamaippu", SPV, 1961, p. 323-328.

210. Venkatarama Ayyar, C. P.., *Dravidic Studies I:* The Demonstrative Bases. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1919

211. Winslow, M., *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil,* Volumes I-III. Madras: The American Mission Press, 1862.

212. Zvelebil, Kamil, "The Enclitic Vowels (-ā, -ē, -ō) in Modern Tamil", Ar. Or., 22 (1954), p. 375-405.

213. ———, "Verbal Nouns in Early Old Tamil", TCult., VI (1957), p. 87-91.

214. ———, "Emphasis in Early Old Tamil", TCult., VI (1957), p. 226-234.

215. ———, "Iṉṉāṉāṟpatu - A Study in Late Old Tamil Philosophy", Ar.Or., 25 (1957), p. 56-82.

216. ———, "Short Remark on a Problem of Old Tamil Verbal Flexion" RO, XXI (1957), p. 527-529.

217. ———, "The Existence of Adverbs in Tamil", TCult., VIII (1959), p. 44-50.

218. ———, "Dative in Early Old Tamil", TCult., VIII (1959), p. 93-107.

219. ———, "Participial and Verbal Nouns as Predicates in Early Old Tamil" TCult , VIII (1959) p. 178-185.

220. ———, "Review to Tamil'skij jazyk" (The Tamil Language), Ar. Or., 29 (1961), p. 704-707.

221. ———, "More About Adverbs and Adjectives", TCult., IX (1961), p. 281-290.

222. ———, "How to Handle the Structure of Tamil", Ar. Or., 30 (1962), p. 116-142.

223. ———, "Personal Pronouns in Tamil and Dravidian", IIJ, VI (1962), p. 65-69.

224. ———, *Lectures on Historical Grammar of Tamil.* Madras : Universi.y of Madras, 1963.

225. ———, Tamil in 550 A.D. - An Interpretation of Early Inscriptional Tamil. Czeckoslovikiya : The Publishing House of the Czechslovak Academy of Sciences, 1964.

Author Index

Agesthialingom Pillai, S. 280

Aintiram, 5

Akattiyar, 4fn

Andronov, M. 326

Ataṅkōṭṭācāṉ, 5

Benjamin, Elson, 11fn

Beythan, Hermann, 293

Bharatiyār, S. S. 6, 7fn

Bloch, Bernard, 10fn, 11,307

Bloch, Jules, 37, 40, 42fn, 102, 167, 168, 180, 228, 230, 244, 245, 288fn

Bloomfield, 10, 11fn, 306

Bray, Denys De S., 208

Burrow, T. 1fn, 40, 288, 292, 295fn

Caldwell, R. 18, 43, 56, 63, 65, 74, 75, 76, 78, 82, 89, 96, 97fn, 98, 102, 113, 115, 118, 153, 162, 166, 167, 208, 209, 210fn, 212, 218, 230, 242, 245, 248fn, 251, 292

Caṅkam Literature, 3, 30, 44, 48, 75, 79, 81, 82, 99, 142, 143, 149, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 188, 198, 219, 228,

229, 232fn, 233, 236, 237, 250 252, 260, 264, 268,

322fn, 337, 338, 339, 344 to 350 351, 352, 354

Cēṉāvaraiyar, 9, 14, 20, 21, 27, 34fn, 72, 86, 89, 91, 94, 95, 96, 98, 103, 110, 143, 145, 146, 152, 153, 157, 162, 176, 178, 188, 189, 195, 196 197, 200, 201, 213, 214, 215, 217, 218, 220, 232, 245, 253, 255, 258, 261, 262, 263, 267, 289, 300, 301, 305, 306, 309, 310, 311, 317, 318, 319 322fn, 337, 338, 351, 352, 354

Chatterji, S. K. 208

Chettiyār, A. K. 6fn, 31, 50, 251, 252

Elayaperumal, 154fn, 183fn

Emeneau, M. B. 1fn, 177, 223, 288, 292, 293fn, 295fn

Entwistle, William, J. 276fn, 323

Frank Gaynor, 258fn

Gleason, H. A. 11, 48

Gundert 63

Hockett, C. F. 10fn, 11, 26, 38, 105, 114, 216, 243, 257fn, 258, 269, 286, 307, 308fn, 309fn, 315fn, 319fn, 325fn, 353fn

Ilakkuvaṉār, S. 4fn, 7fn, 89, 258, 260, 290, 291, 342, 352

Iḷampūraṇar, 9, 20, 68fn, 93, 94, 103, 104, 130fn, 142, 145, 146, 157, 187fn, 195, 200, 201, 216, 257, 306, 309 311, 317, 318fn, 337, 338

Israel, M. 99fn, 198fn,

Jesperson, Otto 55

John Lazarus, 208, 295fn

Kallāṭaṉār, 40, 103, 132, 142, 145, 146, 195, 201, 217, 322fn, 338

Kanakasabhai, V. 6fn

Kuiper, F. B. J. 326

Lounsbury, Floyd, G. 11fn

Manickam, V. Sp. 342

Master, Alfred, 244, 245, 288

Meenakshisundaran, T. P. 3, 7fn, 10, 15, 115, 121, 143, 183, 259, 267, 290, 291, 309, 311, 312, 343

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, 6fn, 9, 40, 85, 94, 101, 103, 110, 117, 125, 128, 142, 145, 146, 155, 157, 177, 178, 187fn, 190, 191, 196, 197, 201, 213, 214, 215, 217, 218, 220, 231, 253, 255, 264, 306, 309, 317, 318, 322fn, 338, 339, 351, 354

Nida, Engene, A. 11fn, 12, 38, 89fn, 92fn, 243, 258fn, 259, 276fn, 277, 279, 308fn, 315fn

Nilantarutiruvir pāṇṭiyaṉ,	5
Paṉampāraṉār,	4, 5
Pāṇini	9
Pavaṇanti (Naṉṉūl)	3, 45, 51, 63, 114fn, 119, 120fn, 122, 125, 133, 145, 146fn, 162fn, 176fn, 181, 191, 193, 221fn, 263, 289, 337, 353
Pei, Mario	258fn, 323
Pēräciriyar,	9
Pike, Kenneth, L.	278fn
Pillai, S. K.	4fn
Pope, G. U.	185, 208
Raghavan Pillai, K.	288fn
Raghava Aiyaṅgār, M.	353
Rajamanikkaṉār, M.	7fn
Ramakrishnaiah,	252
Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V.	1fn, 18, 19, 78, 79, 80, 82, 118, 119fn, 121, 126, 142, 153, 166, 167, 180, 182, 190, 194, 197, 211fn, 217, 218, 220, 221fn, 340
Sankaran, C. R.	47, 288
Sastri, P. S.	7fn, 9, 32, 40, 41fn, 43, 44, 47, 95, 105, 131, 142, 162, 163, 166, 167, 188, 189fn, 195, 196, 245, 254, 255, 271, 290, 291, 294, 300, 306, 310, 311, 317, 337, 339, 340, 352

Sathasivam	177fn, 264
Seethabai, R.	81, 82fn, 343
Sekhar, A. C.	55, 68, 288
Shankara Bhat, D. N.	177fn
Sivaraja Pillai, K. N	5, 6, 198, 270, 271fn
Srinivasa Ayyaṅgar, M.	6fn
Srinivasa Pillai, K. S.	6fn
Sten Konow	1fn, 18, 40, 56
Subbiah, K. V.	40
Subramanyam, K.	6fn
Subramoniam, V. I.	143, 225, 245, 246fn, 247, 249fn, 259, 261
Sundaram, RM.	281
Swaminatha Aiyar, R.	43, 47, 48fn, 50, 51fn
Sweet, Henry,	90
Teyvaccilaiyār	9, 20, 21, 26, 30, 85, 87, 88fn, 90, 94, 99, 103, 142, 145, 146, 152, 156, 169, 175, 176, 177, 193, 195, 196, 201, 203, 214, 215, 217, 218, 253fn, 258, 290, 306, 314, 315, 321, 322, 337, 35 , 354
Tiraṇatūmākkiṉi	4fn
Trager, George L.	10fn, 11, 307
Vaiyapuri Pillai,	5, 6fn, 7fn, 9fn, 268, 269, 285, 292, 295, 296, 297, 298
Varadarajanar, M.	6fn, 43, 89, 147, 153, 154fn, 167, 168, 181, 185, 197, 198, 217, 288, 294, 341

Vàlmiki	6fn
Velma B. Pickett	11fn
Venkatarama Ayyar, C. P.	50, 51
Venkatarajulu Reddiyar,	43, 53, 176, 177, 189, 190, 341
Winslow, W.	292, 295, 296, 297,
Zvelebil, K.	19fn, 40, 41, 43, 45, 46fn, 51fn, 75, 79, 80, 89, 259, 261, 277, 278fn, 287, 288, 292, 293fn, 326fn, 342

Index of Terminologies in Tolkāppiyam * With English Equivalents

Tamil	English
Acainilai or Uraiyacai	expletive particles.
Aṭukkuttoṭar	repetitive words.
Aṉmolittokai	metonymical compound.
Akṟiṇai	non-rational class.
Akṟiṇaippeyar	non-rational nouns.
Ākupeyar	metonymy or transferred nouns.
Āṭūuvaṟicol	masculine gender; words denoting masculine gender.
Icainiṟai	euphonic particles.
Iṭam	person
Iṭaiccol	particles + affixes.
Iyaṟcol	native words.
Iyaṟpeyar	nouns other than derivatives (approximately proper nouns).
Iraṭṭaikkiḷavi	iterative words.
Iṟanta kālam	past tense.
Ummaittokai	conjunctival or conjunctional compound.
Uyartiṇai Uyariiṇai	rational class.
Uyartiṇaippeyar	rational nouns
Uriccol	a few qualifiers and a number of obsolete words.
Urupu	case marker.

* The terminologies are arranged in the Tamil alphabetical order.

Uraiyacai	expletives.
Uvamattokai	compound of comparison.
Uvama urupu	particle of comparison.
Etirmaṟai	negatives.
Eṇṇuppeyar	numerals.
Eḻuttu	flexional increment consisting of a single phoneme (usually an alphabet).
Eḻuvāy	subject.
Ēval	imperatives.
Oruporuṭpaṉmoḻi	reduplicative expressions.
Oruporuḷ palacol	synonyms.
Orumai	singular.
Oruvaraikkūṟum paṉmaikkiḷavi	words used in honorific singular.
Oṉṟaṟicol	neuter singular; words denoting neuter singular.
Oṉṟaṉaikkūṟum paṉmaikkiḷavi	words used in honorific singular.
Kālakkiḷavi	words denoting tense, i.e., verbs.
Kālam	tense.
Kiḷainutaṟpeyar	nouns denoting relations or relatives.
Kiḷaippeyar	nouns denoting caste-groups.
Kuṟippu	the so-called appellative verbs (pronominalised nouns + defective verbs).
Cāriyai	flexional increments or sandhi increments.
Ciṉaippeyar	nouns denoting parts of a whole.
Ciṉaimutaṟpeyar	nouns derived from the peculiarity of limbs and the whole.

Cuṭṭuppeyar	demonstrative pronoun.
Ceyappaṭuporuḷ	direct object.
Ceyyuḷ	Poetry.
Col	words (affixes also included under the term 'col', e.g., iṭaiccol)
Taṉmai	first person.
Ticaiccol	regional or dialectal words.
Tiṇai	class.
Tiricol	variable words.
Tokai	compounds.
Toḻiṟpeyar	verbal nouns.
Nikaḻkālam	present tense.
Paṭarkkai	third person.
Paṇpiṉ tokai	qualitative compound.
Paṇpukoḷpeyar	qualitative nouns.
Payaṉilai	predicates.
Palaporuḷorucol	polysemes.
Palararicol	epicene plural; words denoting epicene plural.
Palararicol	neuter plural; words denoting neuter plural,
Paṉmai	plural
Pāl	gender.
Pālaṟikiḷavi	gender markers.
Peyar	nouns.
Peyariṉākiya tokai	nominal compounds.
Peyareñcu kaḷavi	adjectival participles.
Makaṭūuvaṟicol	feminine gender; words denoting feminine gender.

Marapu	tradition.
Mutaṟpeyar	nouns denoting whole.
Muṟaippeyar	nouns denoting relationship.
Muṉṉilai	second person.
Vaṭacol	words of northern languages.
Vaḻakku	usage.
Vārākkālam	future tense.
Viyaṅkōḷ	optatives.
Viravuttiṇai	common class.
Viravuppeyar	common nouns, i.e., nouns that are common to both the rational and non-rational classes.
Viḷi	vocative.
Viṉai	verb.
Viṉāppeyar	interrogative pronoun.
Viṉaippeyar	verbal nouns (participial nouns).
Viṉaiyiṉtokai	verb compound.
Viṉaiyeñcukiḷavi	adverbial participles.
Vēṟṟumai	case.
Vēṟṟumaittokai	declensional compound.

Subject-Index of Grammatical Terms*
With Reference to Sūtras in Tōlkappiyam.

Adjectival Participle (peyareñcukiḷavi)	TE. 210, 372; TC, 222, 234-238, 430, 433.
Adverbial Participle (viṉaiyeñcukiḷavi)	TE, 204, 209f., 222, 236f., 265, 333; TC, 222, 228-235, 237, 239, 258, 430, 432, 457f.
Appellative verbs, so-called (kuṟippu)	TE, 237; 372, TC, 71, 200f,, 210. 213-215, 217, 220f., 427, 432.
Case (vēṟṟumai)	TE, 112-118, 132, 147f., 156-159, 166, 216, 225, 252, 259, 266, 276, 280, 292, 295, 299. 302, 308, 310, 320, 329, 332, 346, 353, 379;, TC, 62-111, 115, 117-154, 198, 250, 412f., 418.
Case Marker (urupu)	TE, 113-116, 118, 123, 156f. 161, 173, 292, 294; TC, 64, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81f., 84-111, 250.
'Ceymmaṉa' Pattern	TE, 210; TC, 222.
'Ceyyum' Pattern Finite Verbs	TC, 173, 222, 227, 240-242, 245.
Class (tiṇai)	TE, 82, 117, 153, 155, 157, 190, 324, 482; TC, 1, 4, 10, 23, 43, 45, 49-51, 56f., 94, 109, 120, 124, 150f., 160-194, 196f., 201 227, 421.
'Col'	TC, 1-10, 155-159, 198, 249, 297f., 391-394, 397-403, 455f

* The terminologies are arranged in the English alphabetical order.

Common Class (viravuttiṇai)	TE, 155, 157; TC. 150, 160, 172-193, 201, 222.
Common Nouns (viravuppeyar)	TE, 322f., TC, 51, 160, 172-192.
Common Nouns used in the non-rational class (akṟiṇai viravuppeyar)	TE, 155, 157; TC, 150, 151, 196f.
Comparison, Particles of (uvama urupu)	TE, 204, 210; TC, 250, 414, 418; TP, 276, 286-291.
Compound (tokai)	TE, 223; TC, 67, 83, 104, 412-421.
Compound of Comparison (uvamattokai)	TC, 412, 414.
Conjunctional or Conjunctive Compound (ummaittokai)	TE, 223; TC, 412, 417f., 421.
Declensional Compound (vēṟṟumaittokai)	TE, 132; TC, 412f., 418
Demonstrative Pronoun (cuṭṭuppeyar)	TE, 378-381, 422; TC, 37-42, 137, 148, 162, 167.
Demonstratives (cuṭṭu)	TE, 31, 159, 176f., 183, 200, 204-208, 238, 255, 257, 263, 281, 334, 378-381, 422-425, 427, 429; TC, 37f., 137, 142, 148, 162, 167.
Direct Object (ceyappaṭuporuḷ)	TC, 71f., 112.

'Ellām'	TE, 189f., 322f.; TC, 174, 186f.
'Ellārum'	TE, 191; TC, 164.
'Ellīr'	TE, 190; TC, 164.
Epicene Plural (palararicol)	TE, 172; TC, 2, 7, 270, 421.
Euphonic Particles (icainirai)	TC, 250, 257, 261, 272, 286, 411, 423.
Expletive Particles (acainilai)	TE, 34, 204, 210, 212, 224; TC, 153, 250, 262, 267, 271-280, 411, 425f.
Expletive used with some meaning (poruḷoṭu puṇartal)	TC, 411, 424.
Feminine Gender (makaṭūuvaricol)	TE, 271; TC, 2, 6, 176-181, 194;
First Person (tanmai)	TC, 28f., 202-204, 226f., 260, 275, 427.
First Person Pronouns (tanmaippeyar)	TE, 160, 188, 192, 352; TC, 43, 137, 162, 187.
First Person Verbal Termination (tanmaiccol)	TC, 202-204.
Flexional Increment (cāriyai)	TE, 118-133, 164, 167, 169, 173-186, 189-202, 217-220, 228, 241f., 244, 247f., 260, 263, 270f., 277, 279, 281, 283, 286f, 294-299, 304f, 317f., 322, 329, 331, 336, 365, 377f, 384-386, 388, 402 415, 417, 419-422, 431, 433-436, 459, 470, 476f, 481.

Flexional Increments consisting of single phoneme (eḻuttu)	TE, 112, 161f., 164, 223, 226, 231f., 234, 258, 261, 267, 269f., 277, 282, 292, 295. 298f., 306, 327f, 346, 348, 373f, 376, 386, 403, 431, 481.
Future Tense (varākkālam)	TC, 200, 239-241, 245, 247, 427, 437.
Gender (pāl)	TC, 2-12, 23, 57, 110, 161f., 167, 188, 208, 210f., 215, 218f., 221.
Genders, Five (aimpāl)	TE, 482; TC, 10, 161, 225.
Gender Markers pālaṟikiḷavi	TC, 2-11.
Honorific Singular (oruvaraikkūṟum paṉmaikkiḷavi, oṉṟaṉaikkūṟum paṉmaikkiḷavi)	TC, 27, 270.
'Iṭaiccol'	TE, 204, 210, 212; TC, 159, 249-296, 425f., 455; TP, 276, 286-291.
Imperatives (ēval)	TE, 34, 210, 224; TC, 222-224, 274, 450f.
Interrogative Pronoun (viṉāppeyar)	TE, 128, 172, 334, 422; TC, 66, 137, 143, 148, 162, 167.
Interrogatives (viṉā)	TE, 32, 128, 159, 172, 175, 178, 200, 334, 422, 427-429; TC. 31f., 66, 162, 167, 210, 219.
Iterative Words (iraṭṭaikkiḷavi)	TC, 48.
Masculine Gender (āṇuvaṟicol)	TE, 271; TC, 2, 5, 176-181.

Metonymical Compound (aṉmoḻittokai)	TC. 412, 418.
Metonymy (ākupeyar)	TC, 114-116.
Native Words (iyaṟcol)	TC, 397f.
Negative Impersonal Verbs (ṉmai ceppal)	TC, 222.
Negatives (etirmaṟai)	TE, 237, 275, 290, 372; TC, 107, 214, 222, 236, 244, 255f, 435.
Neuter Plural (palavaṟicol)	TC, 3, 9.
Neuter Singular (oṉṟaṟicol)	TC, 3, 8.
Nominal Compound (peyariṉākiya tokai)	TC, 67, 412-421.
Non-rational Class (akṟiṇai)	TE, 82, 117, 157, 482; TC, 1, 10, 24, 43, 49, 51, 56, 109, 151, 160, 167-171, 201, 216-221.
Non-rational Nouns (akṟiṇaippeyar)	TE, 117; TC, 15 , 167-171.
Nouns (peyar)	TE, 108, 116f, 128, 132, 153-162, 172, 174-181, 187-194, 198-201, 203f., 227-229, 2'1-235, 250, 253, 269, 271, 296, 306-320, 325-327, 338, 345, 347-352, 382, 388-392, 401, 403, 419, 433-480; TC. 4-11, 16, 26f., 31-33, 37-45, 49-51, 56, 61, 64-70, 95, 118, 120-154, 158-197, 249, 295f., 410, 433, 449.

Nouns denoting caste-groups (kiḷaippeyar) TE, 307, 338.

Nouns denoting parts of a whole (ciṉaippeyar) TC, 16, 26, 33, 85, 87-89, 114-165, 174-178.

Nouns denoting relations (kiḷainutaṟpeyar) TC, 154, 410.

Nouns denoting relationship (muṟaippeyar) TE, 347; TC, 127, 136, 147, 165, 174f., 179.

Nouns denoting whole (mutaṟpeyar) TC, 16, 33, 87-89, 114.

Nouns derived from the peculiarity of limbs and whole (ciṉaimutaṟpeyar) TC, 174-178.

Nouns other than derivatives (approximately proper nouns) (iyaṟpeyar) TE, 347f., 351, TC, 38, 41, 171, 174-178, 196.

Numerals (eṇṇuppeyar) TE, 198f., 317f., 388-394, 419, 433-480; TC, 44f., 165, 168, 191-193, 416f.

Optatives (viyaṅkōḷ) TE, 210f, TC, 45, 222, 226, 273.

Passive Voice TC, 246.

Past Tense (iṟantakālam) TC, 200, 239-241, 245, 247, 427, 437.

Person (iṭam) TE, 191, 320; TC, 28-30, 202-204, 205-207, 216f., 222-227, 260, 274f., 426f., 450f., 462.

Plural (paṉmai)	TC, 3, 7, 9, 27, 61, 171, 176, 182, 184, 186f., 190, 207-209, 215, 218, 221, 224, 461f.
Poetry (ceyyuḷ)	TE, 51, 208, 213, 234, 237, 258, 288, 305, 316, 356, 481, 483; TC, 18, 39, 51, 108f., 195f., 211f, 397-403, 462f.
Polysemes (homonyms) (palaporuḷorucol)	TC, 52-55, 297, 399.
Predicates (payaṉilai)	TC, 66, 71.
Present Tense (nikaḷkālam)	TC, 173, 200, 227, 240-242, 245, 427, 437.
Qualitative Compound (paṇpiṉ tokai)	TC, 412, 416, 418.
Qualitative Nouns (paṇpukoḷpeyar)	TC, 66, 114, 134, 140, 146, 165, 168.
Rational Class (uyartiṇai)	TE, 117, 153, 157, 190, 324, 482; TC, 1, 4, 10, 24, 49, 56f., 94, 120, 124, 160-164, 187, 196, 201-215, 421.
Rational Nouns (uyartiṇaippeyar)	TE, 117, 153, 157, 189, 324; TC, 120-149, 160-166, 187.
Reduplicative Expression (oruporuṭpaṉmoḷi)	TC, 460.
Regional or Dialectal Words (ticaiccol)	TC, 397, 400.
Repetitive Words (aṭukkuttoṭar)	TC, 411, 423-426.

Second Person (munnilai)	TE, 191, 320; TC, 28f., 222-224, 226f., 274, 426, 427, 450f., 462.
Second Person Pronouns (munnilaippeyar)	TE, 160-162, 179, 187, 253, 320f; TC, !43, 174, 188-190,
Second Person Verbal Terminations (munnilaiccol)	TC, 212, 223f,, 450f.
Singular (orumai)	TC, 3, 8, 27, 44, 171, 176-185, 189, 191, 205, 208, 215, 218, 221, 223, 461f.
Subject Case (eḻuvāy vēṟṟumai)	TC, 65, 67f.
Synonym (oruporuḷpalacol)	TC, 42, 297, 3 9.
Tense (kālam)	TC, 70, 112, 173, 198-201, 207, 213-215, 220f., 227, 239, 2 9-242, 245, 247f.' 250, 427, 437.
Third Person (paṭarkkai)	TE, 191, 320; TC, 28, 30, 205-207, 216f., 227, 275, 427.
Third Person Pronouns (paṭarkkaippeyar)	TE, 188, 192, 320f., 352, TC, 137, 174, 184f., 190.
Third Person Verbal Terminations (paṭarkkaiccol)	TC, 5-11, 205-207, 211, 216f.
'Uriccol'	TE, 482; TC, 159, 297-396, 456.
Usage (colloquial) (vaḻakku)	TE, 483; TC, 17f., 22, 27, 171, 246, 398, 463.
Variable Words (tiricol)	TC, 397, 399.

Verbal Noun (tolirpeyar) — TE, 132, 210, 296, 298, 306, 309, 327, 345, 376, 382, 401, 403, TC, 70, 95, 133, 139, 146, 165, 168.

Verb Compound (viṉaiyiṉ tokai) — TC, 412, 416.

Verbs (viṉai) — TE, 108, 132, 156. 204, 209-211, 222, 224, 236f., 247. 265, 333, 372, 430; TC, 3-11, 27-30, 47-54, 61, 66, 71, 73, 95, 107, 112, 158, 198-250, 258, 270, 274f., 292f., 295, 297, 427-430, 432f., 437f., 444-448, 450f., 457f., 461.

Vēṟu — TC, 222.

Vocative Case (viḷi vēṟṟumai) — TC, 63, 118-154.

Words denoting tense (kālakkiḷavi) — TC, 207, 215, 221.

Words of nothern language (vaṭacol) — TC, 397, 401f.

ERRATA

Page No.	*Line*	*Mistake*	*Correction*
4	fn.	oringinal	original
14	14	charateristic	characteristic
15	24	akriṇai	akṟiṇai
23	25	non-rationa	non-rational
31	17	plura	plural
34	fn.	attache	attaches
35	21	yavaḷ	yāvaḷ
37	16	kaṅ-ai	kaṇ-ai
44	14	tāṇ	tāṉ
44	19	vantāṉa	vantaṉa
48	23	Tolgāppiyam	Tolkāppiyam
52	12	Pillai	Piḷḷai
53	6	etoḷi	etōḷi
55	19	es	as
61	22	ēl-akal	ēḷ-akal
62	24	on-patu	oṉ-patu
63	8	cousiders	considers
70	15	makers	markers
73	8	vesbal	verbal
91	3	subjeets	subjects
93	20	so-colled	so-called
105	13	casses	cases
105	25	from	form
106	25	vacative	vocative
109	11	meterical	metrical
117	15	vilaviṉ	viḷaviṉ
118	22	He	Here
121	13	av-aṟṟu-k-kōḷu	av-aṟṟu-k-kōṭu
121	19	rom	from

130	20	from	form
132	22	capable taking	capabale of taking
135	21	discursion	discussion
175	2	sinification	signification
177	14	kolam	Kolami
181	20	ceṉmiya	ceṉmiyā
194	21	tuṟakkum	tuṟakkam
208	8	from	form
216	11	connector	connectors
248	10	alomorph	allomorph
253	19	ore	are
275	16	on	one
284	16	at the time Tolkāppiyaṉār	at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār
290	25, 26	Ilake-kuvaṉār	Ilakkuvaṉār
310	18	muratt-ai	muṟatt-ai
337	28	o	of